THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

THE New York Times has never rendered its readers a greater service than in keeping WALTER DURANTY at his post as Moscow correspondent. This cool, experienced reporter with his gift for interpretation has for ten years been building up an incomparable picture of the growing new Russia. Here (page 533) he writes of the exchange of men and ideas from America, beginning with the American relief of a decade ago, running through the concessions to American capitalists, the employment of American technicians, the importation of our books and movies, to the present influx of American tourists, who have turned from endless admiration of the Old Masters of Western Europe to eager observation of the new builders of the East. Mr. Duranty predicts that eventually, when more goods are to be had and more houses to live in, there will be a great emigration of workers to Russia, a folk movement that will "catch and surpass" the peak years of emigration to the United States.

BENTON MACKAYE, whose End or Peak of Civilization? in the October Graphic is fresh in the memory of grateful readers, turns (page 541) to another aspect of that kind of planning which shall result in a better life. Little marginal railroads are tending to die out. Pleasant touring, especially for through traffic, is being elbowed off the highways by trucks and buses. What to do about it? Pour cement over the railroad right of way, says Mackaye; establish lanes for ambling local traffic; other lanes for fast through traffic; do away with steam and iron rails and travel by a gas engine mounted on rubber tires.

WHETHER or not the Eighteenth Amendment is repealed or the Volstead Act relaxed by moist applications, the present ferment over strong drink is bubbling over in new directions. One of them is a sober statement by leading men in the medical sciences as to the effect of ethyl alcohol on man. Just what does it do to him—and her? A summary of the chapters of this new volume (page 543) by HAVEN EMERSON, M.D., health editor of Survey Graphic and professor of public-health administration at Columbia University.

JUST now, with the air full of politics and everyman's dials turned for speeches rather than amusement, a study of whether or not listeners are influenced by what they hear over the radio is prime news. The Radio Committee of the League of Women Voters, with the connivance of other interested groups, put itself and its friends in the hands of EDWARD S. ROBINSON, professor of psychology in Yale University. On page 546 he tells of the measurements applied, and the results, especially in a well-rounded program on the subject of unemployment. The idea of the League of Women Voters turning themselves into a sort of glorified guinea pig in a civic laboratory is diverting and the results important and illuminating.

SAYS WILLIAM HARD, experienced journalist of the radio: "I thought myself that Miss Addams was just about the most interesting person I ever interviewed on the air." The interview (page 550) was broadcast from the Chicago Mart at the time of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions and gives the seven points in a program of peace put before the resolutions committees by JANE ADDAMS. The response was immediate and remarkable. Graphic readers now have it in print.

THAT one hundred billions of dollars are in the hands of trustees of one kind or another, including trustees of colleges and philanthropies, is the outstanding fact of a study of American Endowments published by Macmillan as this issue of Survey Graphic is on the press. ALBERT G. MILBANK reviews it (page 554) from the highly informed and practical point of view of a man who is president of the Milbank Memorial Fund. Readers will recall his Socialized Capitalism in the July Graphic, which was reprinted or commented on by scores of newspapers.

FALL books (page 557) fresh from the presses are reviewed by Leon Whipple of the staff of Survey Graphic and Beulah Amidon, Winifred Clark, Henry Neumann, Florence Loeb Kellogg, Roy Flannagan, John Palmer Gavit, Helen Cody Baker, Gertrude Springer, Maynard Shipley, Helen Mears and Charles Stafford Brown.

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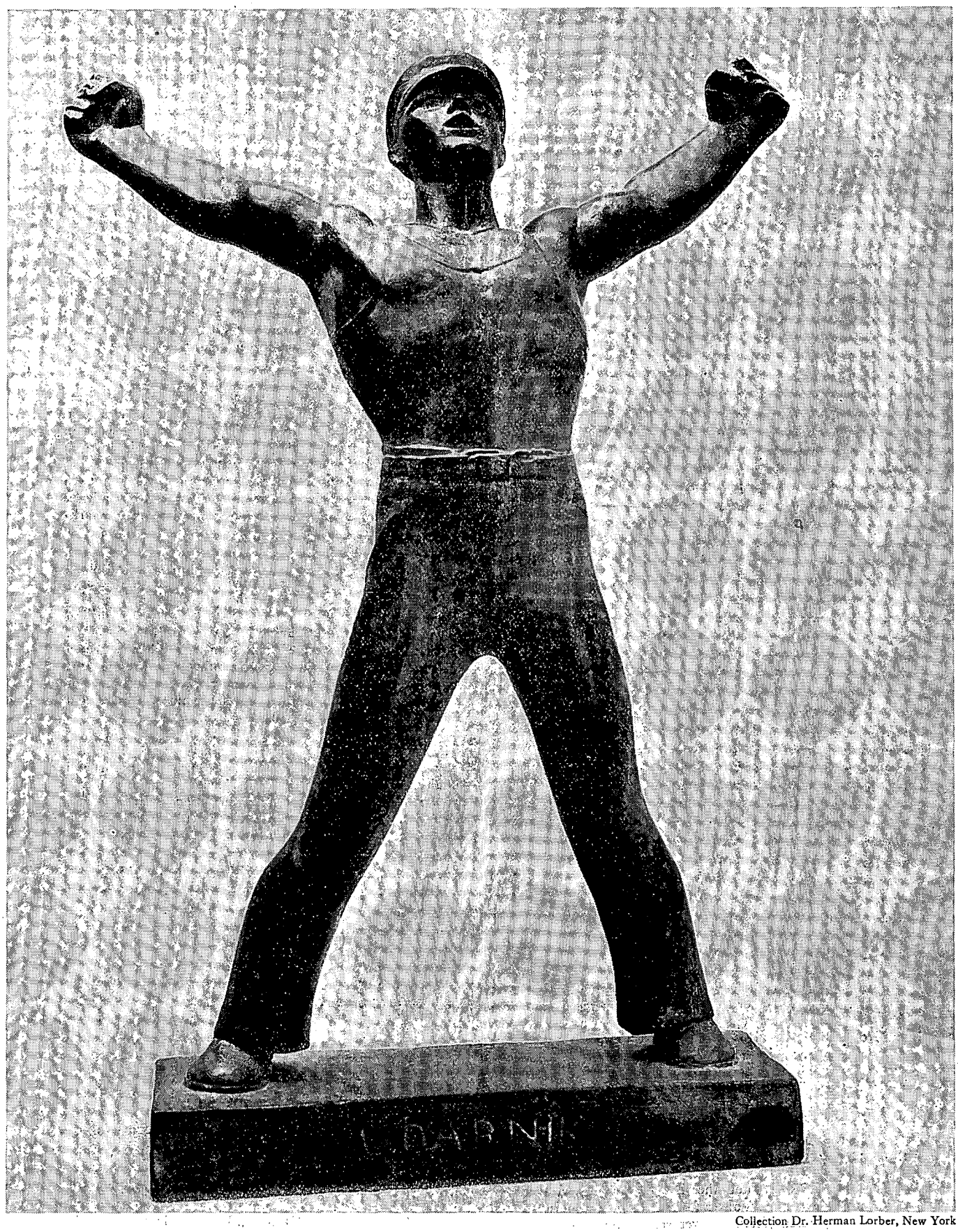

Collection Dr. Herman Lorber, New York

THE SHOCK BRIGADER

BY ADOLF WOLFF

Mr. Wolff brought to America from his native Belgium admiration for the work of Meunier—from a recent visit to the U.S.S.R., belief in the new order; and both are manifest in his sculpture on this page and on page 534

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U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

By WALTER DURANTY

Moscow, September 4

IT IS a curious anomaly that although the United States has refused to "recognize" the Soviet Republic during the fifteen years of its existence, American ideas, methods and individuals have shared more largely in Russian development than those of any other nation with the possible exception of Germany.

Looking backward today I have little doubt that had America been willing it might have played a bigger part in Soviet reconstruction than all the rest of the world put together. Yet I remember with what ridicule a group of American correspondents in Riga received Senator France of Maryland in the summer of 1921 when, on his return from Moscow, he advocated a four-billion-dollar loan by the U. S. A. to finance Soviet purchases of equipment and technical aid from the United States. None of those newspaper men, of whom I was one, had ever been in Soviet Russia and Senator France's proposal seemed to us at best fantastic and Utopian, if not "aiding the enemy" or "arming the burglar" whose ultimate aim was violently to destroy our institutions.

A few years later, in the fall of 1923 I think it was, I got a similar reception myself when I cabled to The New York Times a statement by Guryevich, then head of the Foreign Department of the Supreme Industrial Council, to the effect that the Soviet proposed to buy two billion dollars worth of foreign equipment abroad in the next ten years and for preference wished to take most of it from the United States. The government departments in Washington denounced this statement as arrant "Bolshevik propaganda," as a bait to catch American recognition, and concluded scornfully by asserting that the Bolsheviks could never hope to pay a quarter of this vast sum. Yet the facts of the case proved otherwise. In the eight years that followed, the Soviet government bought and paid for two and one half billion dollars worth of foreign equipment and though no small part of it was purchased in the United States, the proportion might have been much higher.

IT IS not generally realized what a valuable contribution to Soviet hygiene was made by the A. R. A. (American Relief Association), whose activities were by no means confined to distributing food among the victims of the famine of 1921, although at the peak of the relief work they were giving a daily ration to no less than eleven million children and adults. Through its substations, which were scattered over a wide area from the Urals down the Volga to the Caucasus, Crimea and Ukraine, the A. R. A. brought to the Russian population the first well-equipped medical service and training in public hygiene which it had known since the civil war began.

It is difficult for anyone who was not in Russia in that tragic year of 1921 to realize how widespread and terrible was the lack of the simplest medicines and disinfectants. Epidemics of all kinds were rife, from cholera, typhoid and dysentery in the summer to the dreaded typhus in the winter. In a land exhausted by civil war, blockade and privation, little could be done to stem the tide of disease which wrought fearful havoc, especially among children and older people. The local authorities provided boiled water at all railroad stations but that was about all they could do. Even delousing stations were almost unknown and the sale of clothes worn by people who had died of typhoid was common in all the markets, to spread the disease still further.

At the beginning of 1922 when it became evident to those in charge of the American Relief that adults would have to be fed as well as children, a concerted effort was made to utilize adult relief in the interests of hygiene. The recipients of relief were called upon to give part of their time, when physically able, to

WE have failed to recognize Russia. The United States has discouraged trade with the Soviet Union. Yet there has been a mounting commerce of American ideas, inventions, machines, books, experts, as part of the eagerness with which Communist Russia has drawn on the West in its Five-Year Plan. On the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, Survey Graphic presents a luminous article on this unofficial interplay between the two peoples by Walter Duranty, correspondent of The New York Times, who, regardless of propaganda in Moscow and prejudice at Washington has enabled Americans to follow Russian developments realistically.

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cleaning their towns and villages and installing new methods of sanitation and removal of dirt and rubbish. Under American direction the 150,000 Russians working for the A. R. A. as employes or volunteer members of local committees, began a huge campaign of hygienic education devoted primarily to the prevention of disease. Delousing and prophylactic stations, which administered "tetra" injections (giving a full year's immunity from cholera, typhoid and para-typhoid "A" and "B") free of charge were set up in all the urban centers where the A. R. A. was operating, as well as vaccination against smallpox, which was extended throughout the villages.

Overshadowed by the more urgent task of famine relief, this phase of the A. R. A.'s activities has never received proper recognition but the fact that since the summer of 1922 there has been no recurrence of any of the epidemics which periodically devastated tsarist Russia, with the exception of a localized outbreak of smallpox in and around Kharkov in the early part of this year, speaks more loudly than words for the pioneer efforts of the Americans in disease-prevention.

Another contribution by the A. R. A. which is commonly lost sight of was the part its "food-package" system played in the reestablishment of petty business and trading in the small towns and villages of Russia which had been almost eliminated during the period of civil war and militant communism. Unless I am mistaken, upwards of sixty million dollars worth of food packets, each costing ten dollars and containing a hundredweight altogether of flour, rice, sugar, tea and cocoa, were distributed during the two years of American Relief work. This money was not collected by the A. R. A. itself but came from friends and relatives abroad of persons living in Russia or from charitable organizations and individuals. But the A. R. A. handled its distribution, even to the remotest sections of the country, with an efficiency and success which won surprise and unwilling admiration from the Russians and set a standard which is still far from being equaled. In many cases, especially amongst the Jewish population of the southern and western provinces, only a part of the food package was consumed by the recipient, who used the rest as a nucleus to start a small business. I myself have seen in Moscow a table on the sidewalk where about a third of a food package was offered for sale, which developed in the space of three months into a large store employing four people selling furs, cloths, foodstuffs, kitchenware, fruit and vegetables.

Collection Dr. Herman Lorber, New York

WORKERS AND PEASANTS
Sculpture by Adolf Wolff

This of course was in the days of Nep, in the summer of 1922. That store flourished under the same proprietor until 1926, when he sold out to a cooperative and perhaps went abroad, or prudently invested his money in state bonds. Under cooperative management the store was less successful but carried on fairly well until the beginning of 1930, when the supply of foodstuffs in its windows began to diminish. The furs and bales of cloth had earlier given place to cheap ready-to-wear suits, dresses and shoes, whose number and variety began to dwindle about the same time. The section devoted to kitchen utensils suffered a similar shrinkage and today that store is a melancholy sight. There are a few shriveled cabbages and pale tomatoes in its window flanked by one suit for a man, one for a boy, one dress for a woman and one for a girl, at the foot of which stand one frying-pan and one primus stove; but the shelves inside are almost bare.

The A. R. A. helped, too, no little in reviving Russian rail transport and improving the system of train-dispatching which had reached a deplorably low ebb in 1921-22. In the spring of the latter year the Americans were given the right to have their own transport officers at important railroad depots and junctions through which their food supply was being shipped, and these officers had free access to all railroad telegraphic facilities. Within a brief period the big map in the Transport Department of the A. R. A. headquarters in Moscow was studded with colored pins each reporting the position of a train carrying food shipments. It soon became apparent that a disastrous traffic block existed between the Black Sea ports and the Volga, a fact which the Americans had already known for the good reason that shipments were failing to reach the Volga towns, but which had hitherto been denied by the liaison officer who had been appointed to act as intermediary between the A. R. A. and the Soviet services concerned in famine relief.

At this point Colonel Haskell, who was in charge of the A. R. A. operations, sought an interview with the redoubtable Djerjinski, who had founded and directed the notorious Chekka until 1921, when he was appointed commissar of transport with full power to bring order out of the chaos into which Russian railroads had fallen. Djerjinski had just re-

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turned from a trip to Siberia where by summary methods he had unraveled a similar tangle to that in which the American food supplies were involved and had opened the way for the shipment of Siberian grain to European Russia. Acting on information received from his transport officers, Colonel Haskell explained in detail where the tie-ups were located and demanded that his representatives at these points be allowed to "share" the work of train-dispatching with the Russians.

DJERJINSKI turned to the liaison officer who at once protested that nothing of the kind was necessary, that the delay was only temporary and due to "objective" reasons which neither he nor the Americans could control, such as disabled locomotives, inadequate rolling-stock, broken rails and culverts carried away by the spring freshets. The officer concluded by flatly denying the accuracy of American train locations indicated on the map and declared that if the matter were left in his hands, without American interference, deliveries to the Volga towns would be resumed immediately.

Without wasting time in argument Haskell produced the sheaf of telegrams according to which the pins on the transport map had been placed. Djerjinski looked sternly at the liaison officer: "You challenge the facts and figures produced by Colonel Haskell," he snapped, "but where are your own facts and figures in support of what you say? Remember, Comrade, that I, Djerjinski, hold you personally responsible in this matter." Whereupon the officer muttered something about going to get the figures and walked out of the room and, as far as the Americans were concerned, out of their lives henceforth. Djerjinski made no bones about granting the Americans leave to participate in train-dispatching and within a couple of weeks the tie-ups were "liquidated" and shipments to the Volga proceeded henceforth according to schedule.

It must be admitted that the Soviet accepted American help in the work of famine relief with a certain reluctance. It was a blow to Russian pride and the powers and privileges given to American relief workers by the agreement signed at Riga in August 1921 were such as to cause occasional friction, especially with local authorities, although on the whole such instances were few and the Russians tried hard to cooperate with the A. R. A. Nevertheless I don't think that full credit was ever given to the part which the A. R. A. played in the rehabilitation of Russia during those difficult years. It helped too no little to reestablish in the Russian mind the legend of American wealth and power and to restore the belief in American friendship and generosity towards Russia, which had been somewhat tarnished by the memory of America's share in the Allied "intervention" upon Soviet soil. In those days of misery the order, discipline and energy of the American relief workers, to say nothing of their "prosperous" appearance and the relative comfort in which they lived, no less than their kindliness and the help they gave, did much to create throughout the length and breadth of Russia a belief that the Americans were somehow capable of surmounting all obstacles, in short a model of achievement for Russia to admire and copy.

In addition to this psychological predisposition the facts of the case naturally turned Russia's eyes towards America. The vast expanses of the two countries, similarity of climate and geography, unlimited natural resources, which only required development—there was an obvious parallel between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., with the difference that the former was one hundred years ahead of the latter, had gone far on the path towards industrialization and the conquest of nature which the Russians were just beginning to tread. There were other factors which appeared to the newly emancipated people of the Soviet. Americans, they heard, were less set in their ways than Europeans, less daunted by novelty, accustomed to do things on a big scale.

In the early days of Soviet reconstruction, which may be said to date from the introduction of Nep in August 1921, American mistrust of the Soviet and the fact that the latter had as yet but little to export reduced economic relations between the two countries to a minimum. At that time the Soviet attempted to attract foreign capital in the form of concessions and Lenin himself had stated that his country would allow foreigners an ample profit in return for their aid in developing Russian resources. With few exceptions however the policy of concessions worked badly. The concession agreements were frequently drawn up in ignorance of Russian conditions. There were incessant difficulties about labor laws, social insurance and the obligation of the concessionaire to provide clothing, houses, schools and medical treatment for his Russian personnel.

As far as Americans were concerned, the concession business had a bad start. An enterprising oil promoter named Washington Vanderlip acquired as early as 1919–20, vast if illusory rights to the uncharted but potentially valuable oil fields of Kamchatka. On his return home he received a lot of somewhat skeptical publicity and found himself unable to raise funds. The Russians for their part felt they had been misled and determined that henceforth they would be forearmed against American sharp practice.

IN the summer of 1921 the first American concession to be worked was granted to Dr. Julius Hammer to develop an asbestos mine in the Urals. It was not notably successful but Dr. Hammer and his sons gained valuable experience and after two years transformed their concession into a partnership contract with the Foreign Trade Monopoly Department for the sale of American machinery, mostly agricultural, in Russia. This contract was abrogated after eighteen months when the Foreign Trade Monopoly Department felt that it could henceforth handle purchases from America without foreign assistance. But in the meantime the Hammer firm had set a useful example of business methods and aided greatly in establishing contacts between this country and American manufacturers. Incidentally they had more than recouped their losses in the asbestos proposition and proceeded to obtain a new concession for the manufacture of pencils which proved so successful that within three years the Soviet, to Messrs. Hammers' regret, exercised a clause in the contract allowing them to buy them out.

In the autumn of 1921 another concession agreement was signed by the representatives of Harry Sinclair to develop the resources of northern Sakhalin which at that time was still in Japanese hands. I was in Moscow at the time and personally was inclined to regard the whole transaction as "ground bait" on Sinclair's part because I had reason to believe that there existed unpublished clauses relative to action Sinclair might take to bring about the end of the Japanese occupation, if not actual recognition of the Soviet by the United States. Be that as it may, the concession was never worked and the contract was finally cancelled by the Soviet on that account.

Prior to that, however, in the summer of 1923, Sinclair himself, attended by Secretary Fall and Archibald Roosevelt, had come to Moscow with the most important proposition any American has made to the Soviet government since the Revolution. Sinclair offered a loan of two hundred and fifty million dollars, spread over a period of ten years, in return for development and foreign sales rights of the rich Grosny oil fields in

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U. S. S. R. in Construction

Ordjonikidze, Big Chief of Soviet heavy industry

the Caucasus. Sinclair was then at the peak of his career and appeared able to swing this gigantic deal, which was in fact "initialed" (that is, accepted in principle), by his representatives and the Soviet government. The death of President Harding and the Teapot Dome scandal put an effective end to Sinclair's grandiose plan of using Soviet oil exports in his struggle with the Standard and Royal Dutch monopolies, and as I have said, his "ground bait" Sakhalin concession was cancelled soon afterwards on grounds of nonfulfillment.

Little more fortunate was the concession given Averill Harriman in 1925 to develop the rich manganese deposits of Chiaturi in the South Caucasus. Harriman agents who negotiated the contract were apparently unaware that manganese was also produced in Soviet territory at Nikopol in the Ukraine. Instead of the monopoly they had thought to secure they found themselves faced by competition of the Nikopol mines. The development of manganese deposits in British West Africa, which were able to put ore on shipboard at a ton-price little higher than the royalty Harriman had agreed to pay the Soviet government, was a yet more disastrous blow. And their work in Chiaturi was hampered by disputes with labor and the unexpected exigencies of Soviet law. In the spring of 1926 Harriman attempted to retrieve his losses by revision of the concession contract with the additional proviso that he would float a bond issue in New York through a German corporation of thirty-five million dollars to be used for Soviet purchases. Although the U. S. State Department did not at first veto Harriman's project, strong objections were raised by the Department of Commerce, then under the direction of Mr. Hoover, in view of which the State Department expressed formal disapproval and Harriman let the matter drop. The Russians recognized his good intentions and revised the Chiaturi contract on much more favorable terms, but the West African competition was too strong and the Harriman concession was liquidated by mutual consent, the Bolsheviks agreeing to repay American expenditure in equipment and development by a bond issue whose obligations have been punctually met.

There were other American concessions of lesser importance and varying fortunes but unless I am mistaken they have all been cancelled or bought out by now.

Meanwhile, despite the absence of diplomatic or consular relations, Soviet American trade developed steadily. Its pioneer, as might be expected, was Henry Ford, who in 1923 sold to the Soviet ten thousand Fordson tractors on such shrewd terms of delivery and payment that from the outset he never risked more than a quarter of a million dollars. The deal was advantageous to both parties and all Ford's bills were met on time.

Notwithstanding the reluctance of American manufacturers to give credits to the Soviets, business steadily increased until it reached in 1930 (October 1, 1929–October 1, 1930) a total turnover of one hundred and fifty million dollars, whereof one hundred and twenty million represented Soviet purchases in America, the remainder Soviet sales. Well might the State Department declare that so favorable a trade balance required no "recognition" or official American representation on Soviet soil. Unfortunately, however, the effects of world depression then made themselves felt and the Soviet found it impossible, in view of the reduced exports, to continue to buy lavishly in America. Its purchases dropped from a high of fifteen million per month in 1930 to little more than half a million per month at the beginning of the present year. American equipment, methods and brains may be most desired and desirable for the U. S. S. R. but they can no longer compete with the more favorable terms of credit offered by Germany, Britain and other continental nations.

IT has been much the same story with American specialists. Two years ago there were upwards of five hundred employed in the U. S. S. R. either by individual contract or more commonly as representatives of American firms with whom the Soviet had signed an agreement to supervise a particular job. The most distinguished and the most successful, has been Colonel Hugh Cooper, whose firm were consultants for the gigantic dam and power project known as Dnieperstroy, which has just been brought to a triumphant conclusion eight months ahead of scheduled time. Unlike many Americans who made "technical aid" agreements with the Soviet, Colonel Cooper had had wide experience of work in difficult and "unusual" countries. His contract provided ample facilities for the houses and general comfort of his employes and unrestricted import of food and other commodities from the United States. He thus avoided one of the principal stumbling-blocks in the path of American specialists in the U. S. S. R., many of whom have been forced to live in difficult circumstances and found themselves involved in continual dispute about the import of goods which they considered necessities and the Bolsheviks classed as luxuries. Another drawback which Colonel Cooper mitigated was the matter of interpreters. His contract gave him the right to change any interpreter he did not consider satisfactory. This may appear of little moment but in point of fact it is of vital importance and I do not exaggerate in saying that the efficiency of an American technician in Russia is often measured not in terms of his own

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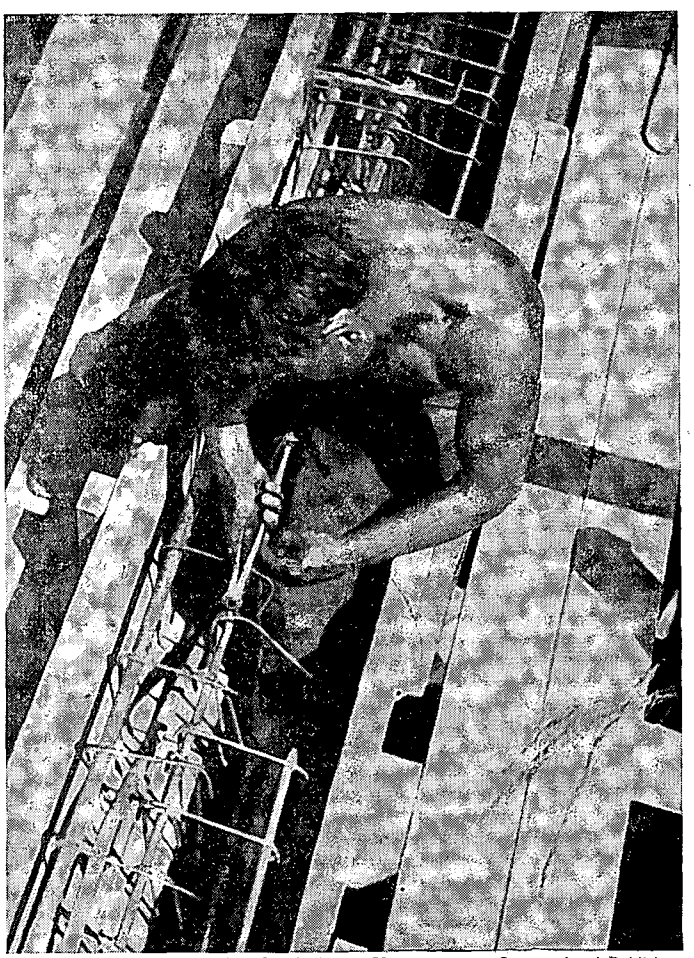
knowledge and capacity but by the knowledge and courage of his interpreter.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the Soviet has not received full value for its money from the American specialists employed, although extremely valuable work has been done by the General Electric, by Stuart James and Cooke in the coal industry, by Messrs. Freyn and McKee at Kuznetz, and Magnetogorsk metallurgical plants respectively, and by Messrs. Wheeler in the nonferrous metal industry, to name a few of the most conspicuous. I am sure that their representatives over here will agree with me that they were engaged in a continual struggle with the obtuseness of interpreters, uncomfortable living conditions and the unfortunate faculty of Russian engineers to put theory before practice. In addition, they found it immensely difficult to get at the man who really did things, and their time was wasted in interminable conferences and discussions with underlings.

To cite an instance, the president of the electrical trust on one occasion paid the highest compliments to a representative of the General Electric Company. The American replied frankly: "Yes, when I can talk to you I get things done, but in my own opinion I am not working at more than five percent efficiency." To this the president made the polite rejoinder that that five percent was worth two hundred of any of his fellow countrymen in the electrical business.

A somewhat different illustration is the case of a structural steel engineer, John Calder, who did an amazing job in putting up the Stalingrad tractor plant several months ahead of time. Calder had an independent contract and was fortunate enough to win the confidence of one Ivanof, a hard-fisted man-driving Bolshevik of the old school, in charge of construction work, who gave his American adviser a free hand. In point of fact Calder ran the plant, hired and fired, and bully-damned his thousands of workers from chief engineer to peasant hod-carrier, because what he said Ivanof did, and the plant was built ahead of time. Today Ivanof is in charge of one of the sections of the nonferrous metal trust and has taken Calder to build for him a copper smelter, "the biggest in the world," in the Kazak desert, north of Lake Balkhash with a projected capacity of one hundred and fifty thousand tons per annum. I can imagine no more unpleasant job, but Calder is doing it. He is also lucky in having one of the best interpreters in Russia, who is not afraid to reproduce verbatim his vigorous remarks, even to such personages as Ordjonikidze, member of the Polit-Buro and big chief of Soviet heavy industry.

In the past year, mainly I think for financial reasons rising from the world depression, but partially perhaps for political reasons also, the Soviet has adopted a policy of cancelling its technical aid agreements with American firms and where it has retained individuals, has greatly reduced their gold salaries in return for an increase in roubles. I say for reasons of policy, because both in the case of American technical aid and equipment, the Soviet has found it necessary to take counteraction against embargoes and other obstacles placed by the American government in the way of Soviet-American trade. Important Soviet representatives of commerce and industry have been kept kicking their heels for weeks in Berlin to obtain visas to enter the United States which, in some cases, have been refused on grounds little short of ridiculous. No less important a figure than Piatakof, Ordjonikidze's right-hand man in the Commissariat of Heavy Industry, was refused admission because it was found that at one time or other he had been a member of the executive committee of the Communist International. As its strength grew, the U.S.S.R. became tired of this pinprick policy and decided that much as it needed American machines and brains, it would do without them until the U. S. A. saw fit to behave in a more reasonable manner.



The Land Without Unemployment, International Publishers

There is work for all, more work than all can do

A good deal has been said and written about the cultural influence of the United States on the U. S. S. R., that is to say, literature and the theater. My personal opinion is that this is mostly nonsense. To begin with Soviet culture, such as it is, is almost wholly an inheritance from the past, adapted and modified if you will, but not a new and independent creation. That the works of Upton Sinclair, Dos Passos, Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson and Sinclair Lewis are translated and widely read is true enough, as it was true of Jack London and Mark Twain before them, but to suggest that they have played an important role in the formation of Soviet thought or literary form is absurd. It would be a more fruitful theme to examine the influence of Edgar Allen Poe, which affected Russian writers of the nineteenth century no less than it did the rest of Europe. But that is an academic matter and has nothing directly to do with my present subject. It is enough to say that the most popular American writer in Russia was,—I use the past tense advisedly,—Edgar Rice Burroughs, whose fantastic romances about Tarzan and Mars had such enormous popularity a few years ago that the authorities found it necessary to suppress them for "ideological" reasons. Let the distinguished quintet of "modern" American writers I have mentioned ponder that fact and digest it. For each hundred of their books published here, Burroughs sold a thousand, though I doubt whether he received any royalties. (*Con't on page* 540)

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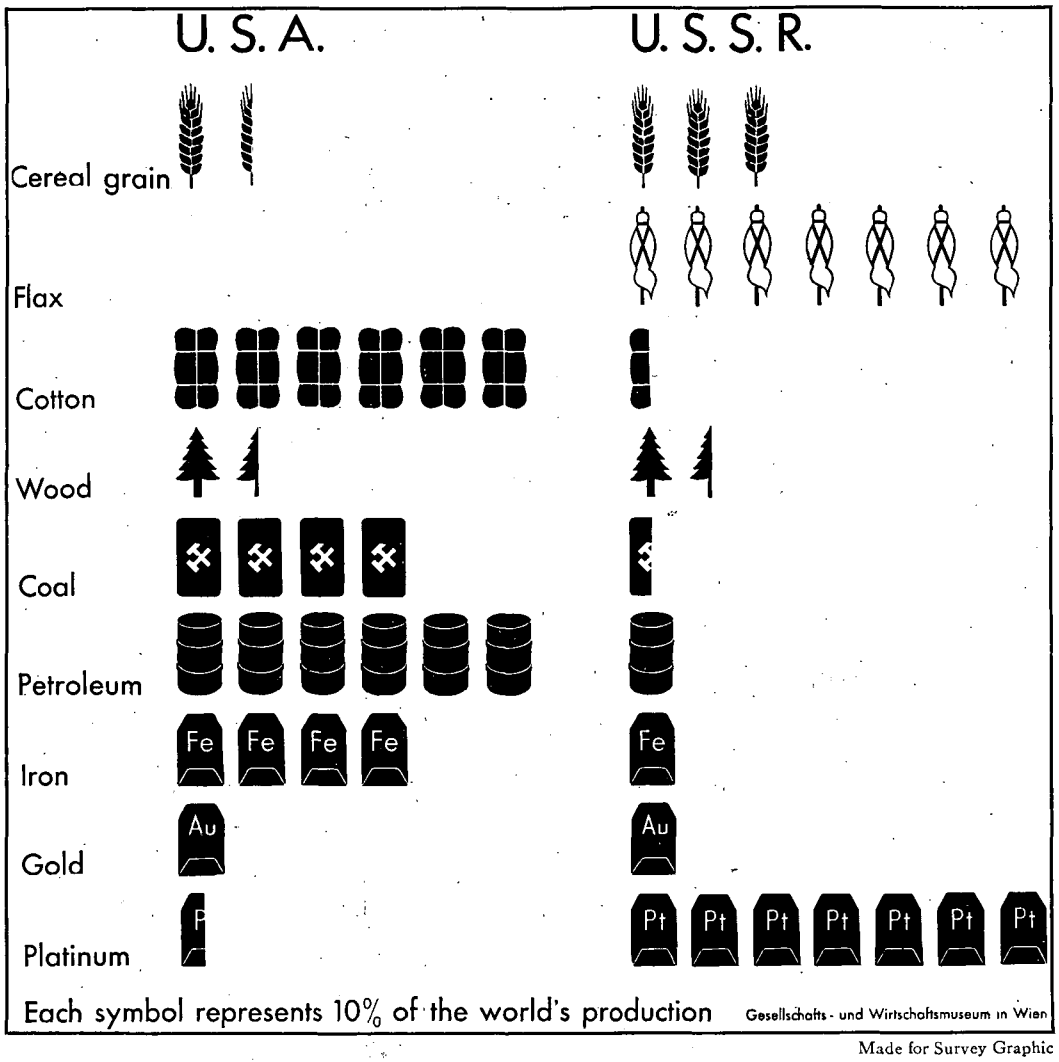

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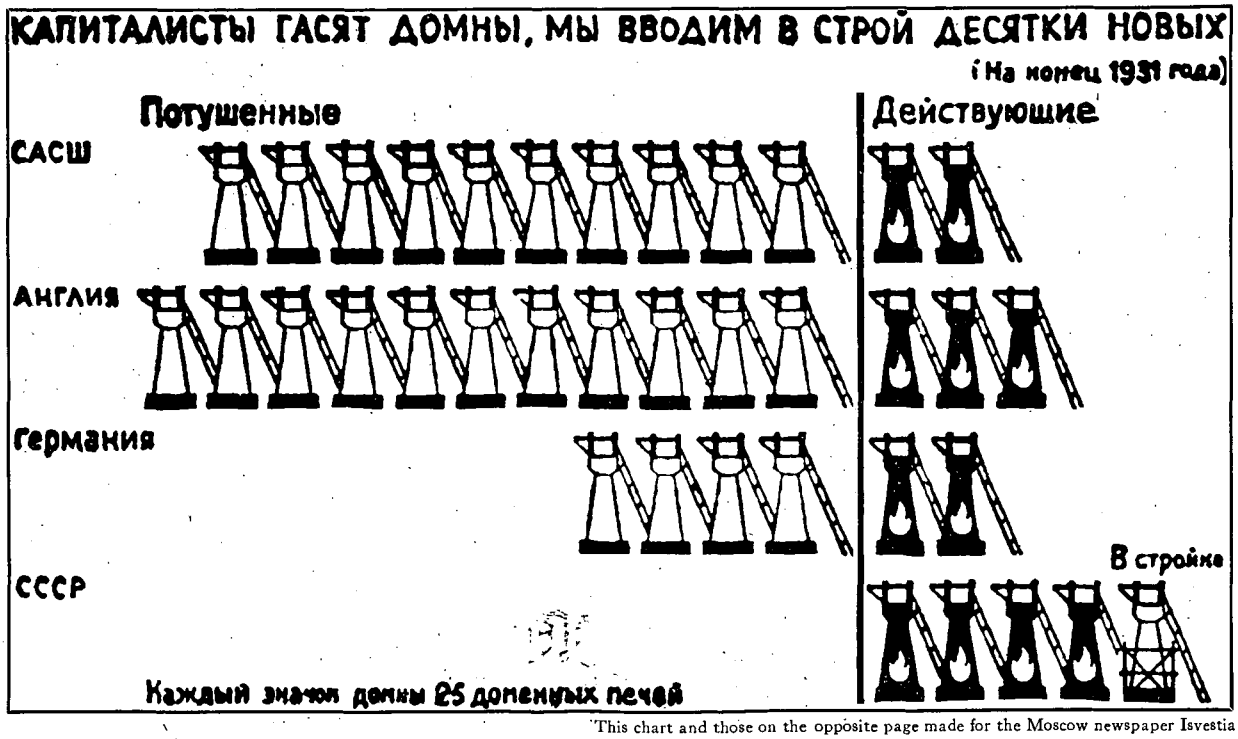
OTTO NEURATH VISITS RUSSIA

By invitation of the Soviet Union, Dr. Neurath has set up in Moscow the Institute Isostat which will follow closely the unique methods of exhibit and visual education of the Vienna Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum of which he is director. These charts were made by a staff of sixteen young Austrians trained by Dr. Neurath for the Russian Institute. They use his luminous method to portray, on the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the relative production in the U. S. and U. S. S. R. of nine basic commodities

Below: The caption reads, "The capitalists are closing down smelters. We are building new ones." From top to bottom the horizontal lines are U. S. A., England, Germany, U. S. S. R. Closed smelters are shown in outline; operating smelters in black. Each symbol represents twenty-five smelters



This chart and those on the opposite page made for the Moscow newspaper Isvestia

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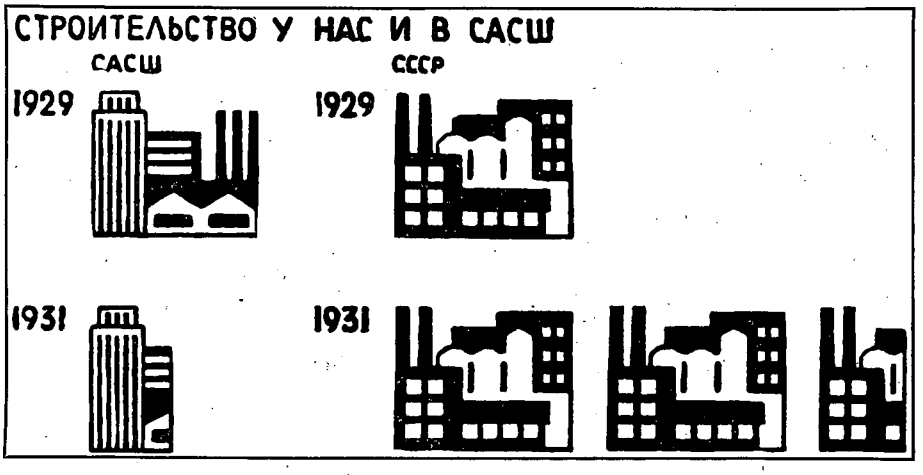
The Soviet Union has overtaken Venezuela in oil production. In each set of horizontal rows (1929, 1931), the upper line is Russia, the lower Venezuela. Each symbol represents two million tons of the total oil production

Production of steel in the U. S. S. R. and in capitalistic countries. Light bars at left, Russia; dark bars at right, all capitalistic countries. Each bar represents 19 million tons of steel production



Building production. The two buildings at the left represent the U. S.; the four at the right, Russia. The unit used is 1929

Increase of the unemployed in capitalist countries. Each figure represents 500,000 idle men. Left to right, England, Germany, Italy

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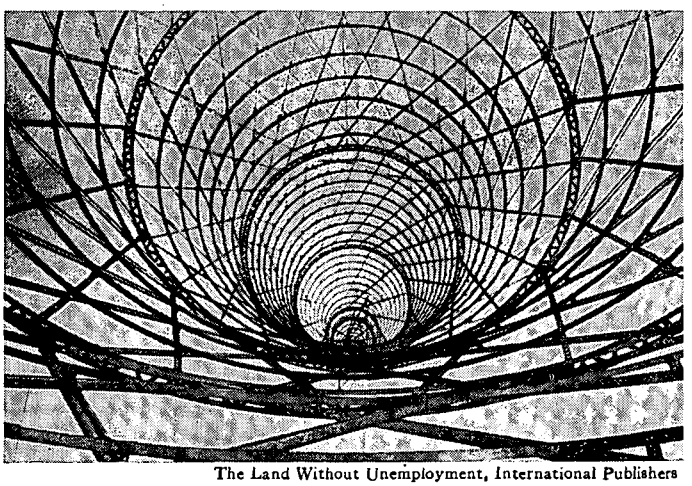

The Land Without Unemployment, International Publishers

Moscow speaking! The tower of the wireless station Comintern

In the theater, Eugene O'Neill has had a favorable reception from the Soviet "cognoscenti," but I do not think that his influence has been great or penetrating. Under an appearance of self-criticism (the word is popular nowadays, as one of the Bolshevik slogans) the Russians conceal a national arrogance greater than any other people I have encountered except perhaps the Chinese, and if one looks for masters who have influenced the Soviet theater one must turn not to O'Neill, or even Shakespeare himself, but to Gogol, Chekof and Pushkin.

In the cinema, American influence has been more pronounced but I think less from its intrinsic merits than from the fact it gave the public what the public wants, namely entertainment and self-release rather than education and the interminable propaganda which has cursed Soviet films from the outset. Fairbanks' Thief of Bagdad was the greatest success the Soviet movie theaters have ever known. It ran for more than a year in Moscow and people came to see it from all parts of the country in special excursion trains. Charlie Chaplin, Harold Lloyd and Buster Keaton are only second in popularity, but during recent years financial difficulties or motives of policy have deprived the Soviet public of American films.

It is difficult for me to speak of music because I know nothing about it, but I can state the fact that American jazz, although proscribed by Soviet authority as a symbol of bourgeois decadence, would be immensely popular here if it were given a chance, to judge by the eager demands made to American residents by all sorts of Russians, including members of the Communist Youth organization or the Communist Party itself, for jazz gramophone records.

BEFORE concluding I cannot ignore the effect upon this country of a new type of Americans who have appeared here in recent years, namely tourists. The American tourist and his family have long been familiar figures in Europe but they were unknown to the U. S. S. R. prior to 1928. Before that, it is true, there were small parties of searchers after Truth, mostly belonging to the professorial or student class, interested in sociology. But in the past three years there has been a growing tourist "business" handled with indifferent though improving efficiency by a Soviet organization called In-tourist (which means foreign tourist from the word *Inostranetz*, foreigner). There are three categories of tours, twenty dollars a day, inclusive of hotels, food, traveling expenses, theaters, guides and automobiles, on the most luxurious scale the Soviet could offer, which varies from a comfortable room with bath and a brand new Lincoln in Moscow, to a wooden shack and a 1925 Dodge on the Georgian Military Road across the Caucasus. Second category, ten dollars daily, is rather an illusion. It guarantees a room to oneself and a place in a "soft" car on railroads but in other respects is little better than the third, five dollars a day class, which plunges the visitor into the true Russian life of traveling "hard" on wooden benches and sleeping four or more in a room, irrespective, of course, of sex.

To the Soviet authorities, American tourists are welcome. They bring much needed "valuta" into Soviet coffers and help on their return home to counteract the more monstrous absurdities current about Soviet life. There is, of course, a certain amount of window-dressing for their benefit but they are free to go where they please, are not shadowed by spies and find on the whole that this country, though uncomfortable, is doing its best in difficult circumstances. To the masses they are a source of bewilderment and pride. The masses wonder at their clothes, at their easy demeanor, at the ease and magic with which they are whisked from city to country in automobiles and trains. All but important Russians must spend hours or days of patient waiting. They do much to maintain the legend of American superiority, but the people of Russia are glad to see them. "They come here because they are interested," they say, "because they have heard of what we are doing and want to see it for themselves," and they extend to the visitors the naïve and cordial hospitality which is the gift of poor and simple folk.

In the last year or two, there has been another type of American visitor to the U. S. S. R.—the immigrant, heretofore mostly of Russian origin, that is, born within the limits of the former tsarist empire—Finland, Poland or the Baltic states, as well as present Russia. Upon these foreign-born Americans, for many of them are American citizens, the weight of depression has fallen hard. They have heard that there is work for all in the Soviet Union, that there are no bosses to tell an employe overnight that he is no longer needed. In that they are right, for here there is work for all, more work than all can do. But as many of them find, life here is hard in comparison with America, and standards low. They grumble, most of them, and yearn for the flesh pots of Capitalism, and many fail to realize that lip-service to Soviet ideals is not a passport to ease in Soviet Russia. But some of them, especially Finns and Baltics, are doing good work here and raising Soviet standards of sanitation, hygiene and comfort towards the level they have known in the U. S. A.

IN my opinion, it is merely a question of time, that is, time for improvement of living standards here, for this country to see a flow of immigration not only from the U. S. A. but from Europe which will "catch and surpass" to use a favorite Russian phrase, the peak figures of foreign influx to America. Stalin's decision that a single socialist state can exist in a capitalist world, that the U. S. S. R. can really be "the workers' fatherland" carries with it an inevitable corollary. The Soviet must open its borders to all workers "of good intent" and give them, despite the difficulties of language, the jobs of which capitalist rationalization and competition has deprived them. Not today, because the socialist framework is still new, the socialist machine still creaks and groans and conditions of life are still too hard to warrant comparison with the U. S. A. or Europe. But tomorrow, when the problem of exchange between agrarian food and urban goods has been solved, as it will be solved, when houses have been built, as they will be built, then the U. S. S. R. will welcome foreigners by millions and build on a sixth of the earth's surface a real union of the proletariat of the world.

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Cement Railroads

By BENTON MACKAYE

THIS article is about the newest kind of transport. It is newer than the airway or the autogyro lane or the path of the Big Bertha cannon ball; it is newer than any means of water transport; it is an age ahead of the highway; it is a new kind of railway.

Italy has such a railway; it runs from Milan to Genoa—built by Mussolini. America could have one from Boston to New York—without waiting for a dictator; half the roadway is all laid; it consists of a hundred miles or so of trackage abandoned by the New York, New Haven and Hartford. And if the scheme worked here it would spread elsewhere; it is merely a matter of remodeling—of converting an iron railroad into a cement railroad.

No, I do not mean converting a railway into a highway; I mean nothing so complicated as that; I mean something very simple (so simple indeed that it is difficult to understand); I mean merely to remodel one kind of railroad into another kind of railroad. No not all of them, only the abandoned ones—to serve as links in an allied system. Who knows—this may be the grandiloquent, long-lost solution of the vexatious railroad problem, the easy-going way for that institution to hold its own in an age of oil and internal combustion.

The remodeling in mind, though it has its legal aspects, is chiefly a physical matter (it is so in Italy and it would be in America). There are ten physical features that need remodeling, each embodying certain principles. Here are the ten features:

1. *The free right-of-way.* This is the basic difference between the railway and the highway. People live on the highway but not on the railway. When folks walked from house to house, or plodded behind Dobbin, there was no sharp distinction between transport and general living—between going and staying. But the two things were suddenly placed in vital contrast. The locomotive was invented a hundred years ago and mechanical transportation came to pass. The "iron horse" in contrast with the real horse was placed on a separate roadway and nothing allowed to hamper him. He had a free right-of-way.

Thus the railway from the first has been *an insulated way.* It is an unsafe, unpleasant place to walk on and to do so is to trespass; between stations and switches it is *inaccessible*; hence dwelling houses never abut upon the railroad. Warehouses, factories and industrial plants having access via side-tracks and switches are the only buildings attached to the railway system. Other buildings may (and do) back up to the railroad but there is absolutely no access between the two. "*No buildings*" (between stations and switches) is the fundamental difference between a railway and a highway—the divorce of transport and residence—of going and staying. The road gets rid of the house, and the house gets rid of the road.

2. *The station.* The railroad station (the only point where the railroad is accessible to travelers) is an appointed place for shifting from one character of transport to another; from individual service to and from the private doorway (represented by the horse-drawn vehicle) to throughline service from one locality to another (represented in the railway vehicle).

The station is the convenient point for certain transport services—water-tank for locomotive, restaurant for passenger. Other incidental services may be provided.

The station is a basic feature of railroad transport: the new kind of railroad retains this feature.

3. *The junction point.* This is the meeting place of two or more railroad lines. At such a point railway vehicles are transferred from one line to another by switches and various devices, all protected by signals and other schemes for safety. Any transfer from one line to another requires usually either a full stop or a slowing down. This method of transfer, by switch and signal, is retained, with certain modifications, in the new kind of railroad.

4. *The highway crossing.* Wherever practicable the highway crossing should be effected by an over-pass or under-pass; otherwise it should be protected by gates, flagman or danger signals. One method or the other is now the usual practice. These methods, or some modification, are adopted on the new kind of railroad.

5. *The double track.* This is the usual method on railroad lines with heavy traffic. The opposite going tracks usually occupy a single roadway or grading but in some places two parallel gradings are made, one for each track, which may be separated by substantial distances. The double track is not an essential feature of the new kind of railroad any more than of the present kind, but it is a desirable feature. Its adoption in cases might require the building of parallel roadways.

6. *Separation of freight and passenger service.* This is not the usual practice of railroads. But some lines, like the New York Central, have separate tracks for each service. In cases where two parallel lines are owned by the same company the bulk of the freight traffic is sometimes sent over one line and special passenger service developed on the other. No hard and fast rule can be laid down, for the problems involved are too far-reaching, but with the new kind of railroad it seems wise to limit the first experiments to passenger service.

7. *Separation of express and local traffic.* This is effected, as on the New York Central, by means of four tracks—the express traffic running on the two inner tracks and the local on the two outer. Way stations are equipped with over (or under) passes from one side to the other, while the inner express tracks are fenced off

WHEN a railroad ceases to pay, its owners quite naturally stop running trains. There are many such in America today. Pour cement over the right of way, says Benton MacKaye, and thus enable private motor cars to run over them. But in every other way keep them as railroads*—with regular stations for entering and departing, with no admittance between stations, and hence no buildings between stations. Mussolini has done it—why not we?*

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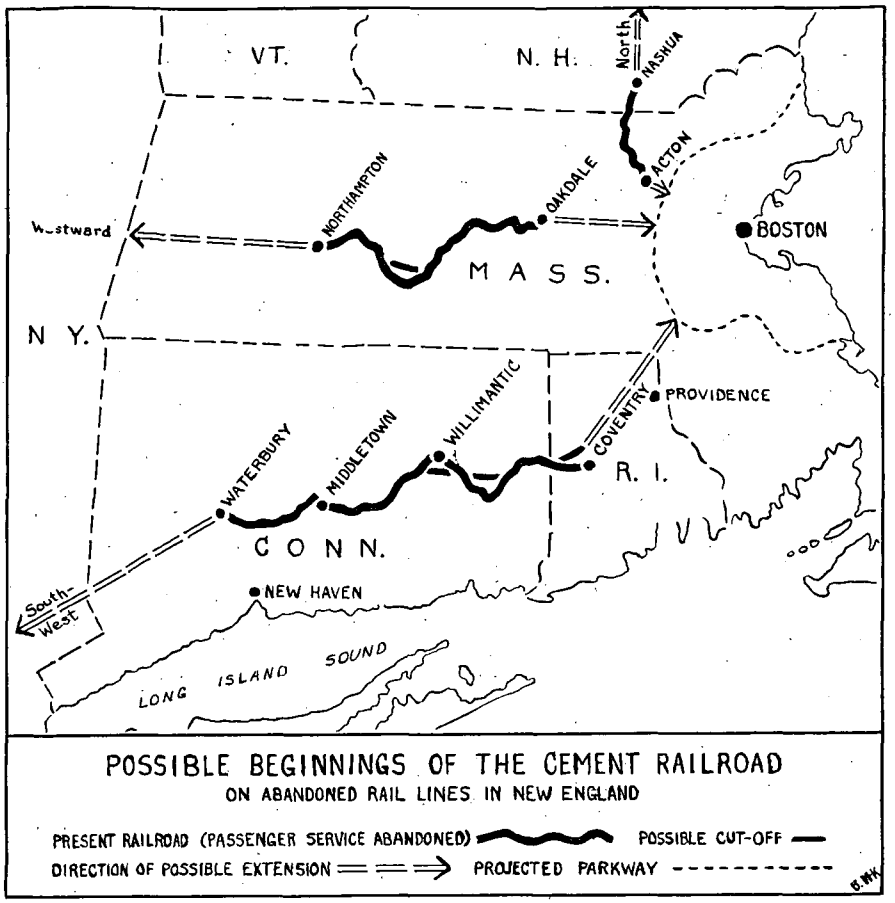
so as to permit of safe passage at full speed. The principle of this method can be adapted to the new kind of railroad.

8. *Single vehicle in lieu of train.* This method for passenger service on branch lines or on stretches of light traffic is now in use on many railroads. One car propelled by a Diesel engine is run in lieu of a train of cars. This method of the single vehicle is the one used on the new kind of railroad. Indeed the vehicle may be privately owned.

9. *Gasoline in lieu of steam.* Steam (or electric current) is the universal propelling power used on present-day American railroads, but the new railroad substitutes gasoline. This substitution may be classed as a detail.

10. *Cement tracks in lieu of iron.* Instead of the present track (a bed of wooden ties surmounted by a pair of metal rails) the new railroad substitutes a flat track of cement. This requires a rubber wheel in lieu of a metal wheel with flanges; it requires also a steering apparatus; it requires in short a motor car or automobile. More *details!*



"WHAT earthly difference," someone asks with heat, "lies between this kind of railway and an ordinary motor highway?"

Sir, do not get excited. Read again the ten features listed above and ponder well thereon.

The fundamental difference is contained in feature 1—the free right-of-way between stations—the total divorce of transport and residence. The other features are enumerated chiefly to show the application of this principle. The new kind of railroad is devised in order to make real the *point* of the automobile. This point now is largely defeated. The motorist is cheated out of the full use of his machine, while the peace of the local resident is ruthlessly invaded. Both parties suffer by the sheer misuse of a great invention. It is because neither party clearly sees the real point of this invention.

The point of the motor car is the combination of two kinds of transport, the kinds mentioned under feature 2—the individual service to and from the private doorway and the throughline service from one locality to another. The automobile is a cross between a carriage and a railroad car. Its point is to enable one to do what he used to do, but *without changing cars:* to leave his doorway in the locality of Boston, Massachusetts, and to go safely, speedily and without nuisance to others, to another doorway in the locality of Atlanta, Georgia.

Nobody can do this thing today. From the locality of Boston to the locality of Atlanta the motorist now must drive on some throughline motor highway. Throughout the length of this throughline he is enclosed (or in time will be) by a row of bungalows and houses on each side; he runs thus the continuous gamut of a double row of entrances into the highway; he passes through one town after another, large and small, in which residents would like to live in peace and quietness; he travels more slowly than the railway car and (as statistics show) at six times the danger; he makes himself a nuisance and a menace in every town upon this way from Bunker Hill to Dixie.

The new kind of railroad eliminates this farce. Follow now the journey through the ten features we have mentioned. (We shall take them in reverse order.)

Our motorist travels on a cement tread under gasoline power in a single private vehicle. He drives on the inside, lefthand (express) lane when he wants to make speed, or on the outside, righthand (local) lane when he wants to stop at a station or slow down to view the scenery. He is spared from the road-encumbering motor truck (or else its encumbering is reduced one half if the way is double-tracked). And if double-tracked the danger to his life is reduced by nearly half (40 percent of motor-passenger deaths being due to the present *single-tracked* way). He is hampered the minimum by local highway crossings. At important junction points he is required at most to slow down, whether in maintaining his straight way or in switching to another through line. At any way station he may stop for gasoline and coffee, or (following the lefthand lane) he can maintain his speed. Finally on every stretch between the stations he may safely choose his speed on a free and insulated right-of-way, while he himself is at once unmolested and unmolesting.

The automobile, as already stated, is a cross between a carriage and a railroad car. This is its whole point. The present motor highway defeats this point. The cement railway is devised specifically to gain this point.

PERHAPS you say that we need not anyhow take so seriously this little matter of land transport—that our future earthly oscillations will be largely via the airplane. Maybe so. But if we stay on earth at all the gasoline horse, or something very like him, is very sure to be here; and if so—like the iron horse—he should have his special right-of-way.

The cement railway is but (*Continued on page* 570)

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Medicine Looks at Alcohol

By HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.

TODAY'S laboratory and hospital teach what the market-place and Congress will talk of tomorrow. Little question that in our social doings we trail at a distance the swift advance of the chemist's discovery, the biologist's proof and the assembled trends of statistical evidence.

In 1883 Schmiedeberg, the pharmacologist, first taught that alcohol, dear to man as a "stimulant" and fascinating in the psychological alibis it creates, is a depressant and selects for special effect the higher qualities of man's mind and spirit. Since then evolution and revolution have run almost parallel in a process of adjustment, first of medical thought and far later in social practice. Then came King Gasoline and the stepping up of speed and power on the highways of the world.

These two major facts, even more than the metamorphosis from rugged individualism, often really a form of infantilism to responsible social action, demand a wholesome revision of the teaching handed out to our school children about the horrors of alcohol. It seemed therefore a sort of obligation to medical-school and university teachers to set down such of their convictions as were borne out by critical proof, quite apart from their social, emotional, political, financial or gustatory preferences. The book Alcohol and Man[1] is the result.

How do the tests and experiments which have led medicine upward at a staggering pace in fifty years, jibe with the so-called common-sense experience of the man in the street? Facts talk, evidence will convince, in spite of our usually adequate protective buffers of tradition, superstition and desire. Let us put the witnesses on the public stand and make them talk our language.

Alcohol and Man is the sincere gesture of medical and associated sciences; a source-book for teachers and publicists; a story of deep digging into the true inwardness of that "euphoria," the sweet well-being, which beguiles the weary with its peace and content.

HIMWICH of Yale, physiologist, considers the open channels to the brain through which the alcohol races from stomach, through blood stream, to the gray cells that preside over our judgments, discretions and muscular responses. He sees the variants in effect due to dilutions, to accompanying food; the rate of absorption altered by habituation; the speed of elimination or combustion of the drug which is dependent upon exercise.

He follows causes and effects through the tissues of the healthy body, everywhere seeing depressed function follow the wave of alcohol, and noting that it is the alcohol percent in the brain, not in stomach and blood, that decides a man's performance. And he makes no bones of saying that "in all probability alcohol is taken in the majority of cases for its depressant effect, for with this come escape from worries and anxieties, freedom of restraint of social convention and self-criticism." Truly a freedom that is a delight to many and may even be advisable as a relief from the realities of life, but at the expense of the higher faculties.

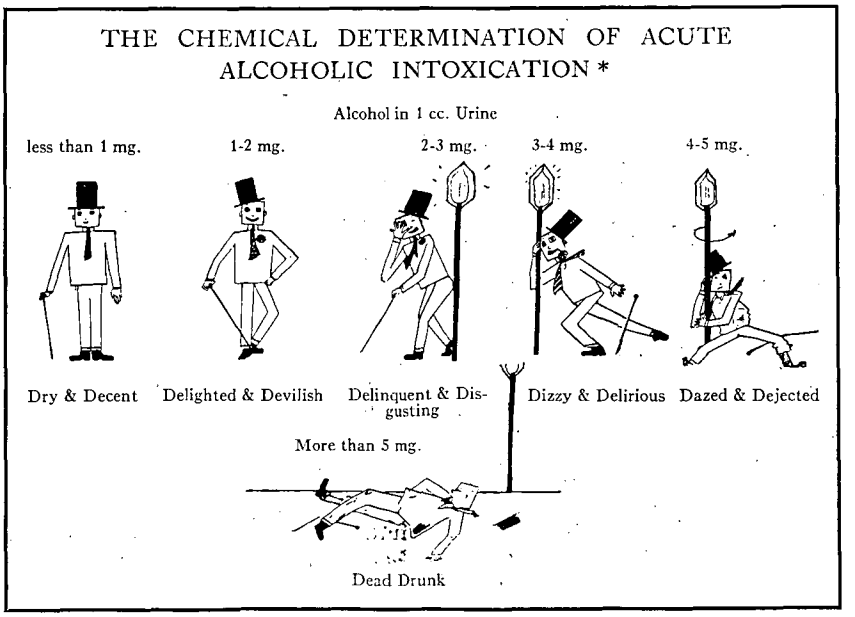
This depressant action on the brain, even in the least doses, and in all concentrations of alcohol in the blood, reveals itself to the trained observer in poorer thinking, in less sensory acuteness, and in delayed and weaker muscular performance. In precision work, errors increase and competence is lessened.

Then speaks up the pharmacologist, devoted to the measurement of the action of drugs which may relieve or cure the sick. Wallace of New York University and Bellevue Medical School speaks for the direct inheritors of Schmiedeberg. He disposes of a myth and a tradition at the same time, finding that the nursling can hardly be harmed by the minute amounts of alcohol that leave the mother's body in her milk, and that beverage alcohol fails to improve the quantity or quality of human milk.

Among the accepted facts of human experiment are the slowing of those responses of eye, ear and hand upon which safety of factory machine and motor-car depend. Alcohol undoubtedly blocks not only the paths of our higher inhibitions, but those also which have been developed by training and experience. He develops the evidence of the narcotic effects of alcohol, its resemblance to ether and chloroform in manner, and its difference from them in speed of action. He too, like his brother physiologist Himwich, finds the only action of alcohol on the heart to be purely depressant.

For food uses he comments on the special advantage of alcohol in some conditions because it requires no digestive process and is absorbed rapidly into the blood stream, but warns that alcohol can not, like common foodstuffs, enter into the composition of the body tissues or be stored for future use, as can fats and starches. The value of alcohol Wallace finds to be, externally,

THE CHEMICAL DETERMINATION OF ACUTE ALCOHOLIC INTOXICATION *



From Alcohol and Man. Edited by Haven Emerson and others. Courtesy of The Macmillan Company, Publishers

[1] Alcohol and Man, by various authors. Edited by Haven Emerson, M.D. Macmillan. Probable price $3.50.

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chiefly as an antiseptic and to prevent bed-sores, and internally, apart from its limited food uses, as a depressant upon the brain. He finds no excuse for its routine use in pneumonia and other fevers.

Hyman of Columbia treats of the experiments with moderate use of alcohol on healthy persons, inside and out, noting the effect of the bitters in a cocktail, the aromatic in the liqueur, the abundant fluid, the hops and cereal in the beer as explaining effects often claimed for the alcohol content.

Again this teacher of the medical student of today comes out quite flatfooted with "The sole effect of alcohol systemically, when given in moderate doses internally to the normal human individual may be described as a progressive depressant of the nervous system," and he passes the reader over to the psychologist for interpretation of the performances that follow this depression. Why then the popular belief in the subjective elation supposed to be due to stimulation? This he answers quite in the lingo of good mental hygiene. "In man all of the natural and biological processes are inhibited by the cerebral cortex. . . . Alcohol by depressing the higher center and benumbing the Ego, shifts the balance of power to the ordinarily suppressed or depressed Id; the result is an apparent stimulation, which from a purely pharmacological standpoint is an 'inhibition of inhibitions.' The biological urges of the individual are released from the restraints imposed upon them by the forces of civil and social laws and customs, and the reflex responsibility of the animal replaces the self-controls and trials of the good citizen. The release is pleasurable to the individual even though it may be disagreeable to his companions." He finds evidence that alcohol in moderate amounts with meals, in the normal human adult, does not usually lead to chronic alcoholism, and that such use does not necessarily cause any permanent organic defects of a harmful nature.

BUT what of single human cells? Does alcohol make them show superiorities or give us pause in our argument? Shall we listen to Whitaker of Stanford who tells us that many bacteria not only survive but thrive in strengths of alcohol many times greater than those which man can tolerate or even enjoy. Apparently on the lower levels of living creatures there are those that quite successfully specialize in even 15 percent solutions while the multicellular composite, that is man, quite certainly dies if his blood reaches a concentration of six tenths of one percent of alcohol.

This micro-organic tolerance we seem to have lost, a sacrifice to the dominance of mind over matter. In minute beings, and on the cell as in man, it is the narcotizing effect that fills the picture. Narcosis and anesthesia, inhibition and depression, are all but variants in degree rather than in the nature of alcohol's action, whether it be on germ cell or adult, fish or other fry, little and less so. Even the ameba, symbol of elementary existence, feels the confusion of alcohol, indulges in misdirected energies, putting out pseudopodia, its amorphous feet, at the sides as well as in the direction of its proper interest and urge. The ameba may exhibit an 80 percent loss of motion quite in the style of a human "drunk" but it takes ten times the strength of alcohol to stop the ameba's progress as suffices to put master man *hors de combat*.

The biologist sums up his record with the declaration that "Very dilute concentrations of alcohol appear to stimulate the lower forms of plant and animal life. Moderate strengths inhibit or suppress every known type of activity of living matter. If the dose is not too strong, recovery of the cell or the organism is complete, but higher concentrations cause death to almost all types of cells." The lesson is pretty clear for man in the fact that upward progression out of the slime of undifferentiated protoplasm has been by specialization of self-determining inhibitions, self-control and purposeful selection of actions, through dominance of the nervous system, and with this as with other delicate and lately acquired characteristics in the geological sense of time, we become more vulnerable as we grow superior.

WE TURN then to the specialists in genetics and experiments in heredity. Stockard of Cornell and Davenport of Cold Spring Harbor disclose the secrets of the breeders.

Probably no human being could survive enough alcohol in his blood to produce the effects experimentally created for laboratory animals. Weakling cells and embryos are so consistently destroyed in alcoholized animals that the end result, after four or five generations, is a group of vigorous animals which average larger than those from which their ancestors sprang. Not an improvement in stock but the survival of the more alcohol-resistant individuals is what occurs from experimental exposure of animals to long continued and heavy doses of the drug. The surviving stock is not decidedly injured by the treatments of its ancestors. It is hardly possible that human beings should lead such an alcoholic existence as was forced upon these animals, and still survive to procreate.

"We may assume from the experiments of the effects of alcohol in development and inheritance that it is highly improbable that the quality of human stock has been at all injured by the long use of alcohol." To which one might add that neither is there any evidence or likelihood that human offspring of today exhibit any excellences of body or mind because of ancestral alcoholism.

"There is much evidence that generations of alcoholism in man have produced germ cells relatively resistant to alcohol so that diminished fertility of alcoholics and defective offspring of alcoholics are, at least, not the common result."

SO MUCH for the basic sciences up to date. We can now turn to the practical problems of the toxicologist, clinician and pathologist. Bogen of Los Angeles answers those perplexing questions of differences in individual tolerance, degrees of intoxication, tests to prove amount absorbed or residue uneliminated, legal definitions, and the distinctions between the stages, according as a man passes from the stage of less than one milligram to that of more than five milligrams of alcohol

A Famous Discovery

"In the sense of being a creator of pleasant feelings and images alcoholic liquor may be counted one of the most famous psychological discoveries. Many of the poisons found by man are psychologically if not physiologically uninteresting; not so alcohol. It has proved to be a means for temporarily but more or less effectually, disconnecting the higher brain from the lower and of leaving the latter largely in control. The result is found to be peculiar, pleasant, often amusing and man, who has always been interested in modifications of his physical body, was even more interested in these changes of his inner self which he found could be produced in varying degrees. The alcohol effects were so immediately agreeable and subjectively attractive that even though there were attendant and subsequent personal and social distresses, the negative aspects received but little weight until individual hygiene, economic efficiency and social welfare began to be stressed as desirable objectives by large groups of people."—*From Alcohol and Man.*

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in each cubic centimeter of his blood. [See his drawing, page 543.] He warns of the fallacious test of odor on the breath, and pleads for skilled diagnosis to distinguish the alcoholic from the sufferer from insulin shock, mental confusion and a variety of other intoxications. He clarifies our mind as to "jake" poisoning, and the fact that in the "cut," "poisoned" liquor of today, it is still the ethyl alcohol of yore which is the toxic ingredient, and that as a matter of fact the present bootlegged liquors are less poisonous than pre-war stuff because they are practically all diluted for the seller's greater profit.

He explains that the tolerance of the habitué consists mainly of retarded absorption of the alcohol he drinks, and not in any really immune state of the tissues. He tells us that symptoms of drunkenness may be found long before this state becomes obvious, and that they are characterized primarily by a gradually descending loss of the functions of the brain. He ventures the opinion that in its immediate and remote effects alcohol is the most dangerous poison widely included in the human diet, with a selective effect on nervous tissue.

THEN for the use of alcohol in sickness we turn to a half dozen physicians who give the good reasons why alcohol, once used all but universally for the sick as a stimulant, stomachic, tonic, has fallen from general use to such a degree that many physicians and hospitals prescribe it not at all, and even its most ardent advocates admit its very limited application either in emergencies, as a food, as a depressant or to give sleep and peace of mind to the aged. Whether it be Brown and Eagen of Saranac, Brooks of New York, Christian of Boston, Miller of Chicago or Wilder of Rochester, the experience back of their clinical practice is of the best. Apparently we do not need alcohol for the treatment of diabetes. The aged may find it indispensable to their depreciated level of euphoria. It has hardly any place in pneumonia, and the recovery rate is better without it. It plays no part in standard treatment of tuberculosis, and when given at the sanatoria at all, it is only at the solicitation of habitués, and not for any recognized medicinal value in the disease. And all this is backed up by two internists of London who discuss the abundant evidence that in some measure alcohol interferes with resistance to infection.

The pathologist Martland of Newark goes a step further and lets us glimpse the end results, the ashes of human life, the burned out crucible, the filaments that glowed and betrayed, the mind and nerves corrupted by the permeating poison carried to each by the blood stream. A typical sound medical examiner's opinion of findings and causes, quite in a separate category from the postmortem, post hoc, pronouncements of the old-time political coroner and his political physician pal.

WITH man's alcoholic body disposed of we can return with profit to the performance of spirit under the influence of his alcohol, the reasons for his eagerness to try changes in outlook, to bless himself, if not help his family, by forgetting today in a rosy imagining for tomorrow.

Miles of Yale tells of the delicate tests by which man's performance is revealed, free from his own self-biased and ultra-favorable opinion. Man takes alcohol to change his feelings, to alter his mind-body state. The degree of his failure to come up to standard when alcohol has reached his brain is revealed in the mal-performance of all skilled acts, in the effect on social behavior, of error in eye and hand, speech and hearing, and in the motor activities necessary to the safety of the alcoholic himself. So far no test of physical performance has been contrived in which the effects of even nominal doses of alcohol do not show inferiority. Learning, memory, free association, sensory thresholds, attention and concentration,—all betray the let-down which these small drinks cause in every man tested. We learn the reason why humans use alcohol, and take to it as a refuge. We see how difficult is the technique of living without the escape from self and environment granted by the narcotic, alcohol. "The spirit of the age proclaims that we must be efficient. Efficiency and ever more efficiency is demanded, and the desire for alcohol is the desire for rest, for release from the tension, for freedom and abandonment."

Meyer, the psychiatrist of Johns Hopkins, and Adler from Berkeley, pick up the thread from the psychologists' hands, and show the twisted strands of personality as they weave the tangles of alcoholic psychoses, which become the most complicated and baffling of all the socio-medico-religious problems which physician, family and priest are jointly concerned with. "Alcoholism may be a problem of the few, but it is the problem decidedly of entire groups, and not merely of the individual." Social case histories, family genealogies as well as hospital and asylum records must be integrated and analyzed in terms of generations before we can see the whole truth, whether the end catastrophe be crime or poverty, suicide or homicide.

HUMAN bookkeeping closes our accounting between man and the enemy he himself has created and makes a friend of. Hunter and Dublin of New York and Pollock of Albany tell in figures the tale of the mass; offer evidence of decades, of millions, of man the genus, of races, age groups, sexes, the city man and the farmer's wife. They glean the hidden implications of death-lists and give tabular expression of a generation's combat with its dearest physical delight, and its most relentless destroyer of the spirit. And the story is always the same,—more sickness, longer sickness, more and earlier deaths where alcohol is easily accessible and abundantly used; betterment among the lives of women and children, and fewer lives snuffed out by institutional existence, when less alcohol is consumed.

And to close with a gesture of international experience we have that time-saving device, a review of foreign literature, which shows how identical are causes and effects where the identical poison is consumed by any of the races of man. Kopf of New York has culled the books of Europe to tell the tale of alcohol as a problem of sickness and death.

SO closes Alcohol and Man, a non-partisan contribution of the medical and associated sciences to the sources of knowledge which presently will determine our social and political decisions.

That Peculiar Charm

"The peculiar charm of alcohol lies in the sense of careless well-being and bodily and mental comfort which it creates. It unburdens the individual of his cares and his fears; relieves him of his feelings of inferiority and weakness. The inhibitions and self-criticisms which ordinarily cramp his feelings, tend after alcohol to be put aside. Remote objectives requiring immediate self-denial are forgotten; present bodily experience is intensely enjoyed and highly valued. Natural ease becomes primary, business secondary. The fundamental animal drives of the organism have free reign; the intellectual self-critic makes no strong pulls to the right, for he is dozing. Under such conditions it is easy to laugh or to weep, to love or to hate, not wisely but too well."—*From Alcohol and Man.*

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Are Radio Fans Influenced?

An Experiment in Measuring Changes in Public Opinion

By EDWARD S. ROBINSON

. . . for opinion in good men is
but knowledge in the making.—*John Milton.*

THERE are today two popular estimates of political democracy. In one case the public is envisaged as a collective political genius; in the other case the same public is a collective moron whose only hope lies in the kindness of his keepers. But I am inclined to be suspicious of both of these verdicts. They are too confident, too simple, too final. I feel safer in the belief that the forces of public opinion are still understood only vaguely—that few modern problems are so in need of open-minded study as is this problem of the public mentality.

During the winter of 1932 Katharine Ludington and the Radio Committee of the League of Women Voters offered me an opportunity for a relatively intensive study of the public mind, the results of which undertaking, as well as its method of approach, seem to me relevant to the large problem of public opinion.

Following an earlier experiment throughout the country, small groups, including 419 persons (359 women and 60 men), were organized who agreed to gather weekly for four successive weeks to listen to radio addresses upon the subject of unemployment. There were from one to more than a dozen groups in each of fifteen states, all of the larger sections of the country except the South being represented. Although the public studied in the investigation may not be representative of the whole voting public, it probably represents fairly well that public which is readily reached by educational programs of this general type.

An effort was made to strike a balance between speakers who would be likely to lean to the left and those who would be likely to lean to the right. Under the general title of Unemployment, What the Voter Should Know, the four following topics were treated in four successive Tuesday evenings in February:

Realities of Unemployment: Frances Perkins, industrial commissioner, Department of Labor, State of New York; Peter Frederick Snyder, assistant secretary of labor, Washington, D. C.

Uncle Sam as a Job Finder: John R. Alpine, supervising director, United States Employment Service; Robert F. Wagner, United States senator from New York.

Relief for the Unemployed—Whose Responsibility? William Hodson, executive director, the Welfare Council of New York City; John A. Ryan, director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Council.

Unemployment Insurance or Dole? Leo Wolman, professor of economics, Columbia University; Henry J. Allen, United States senator from Kansas.

Immediately before the opening address of the series the listeners subjected themselves to a test designed to detect and measure their attitudes on the unemployment question. Immediately after the final address the same test was repeated. (This group we shall designate hereafter as the *exposed* group.)

A second smaller group of listeners was assembled for control purposes. Twenty-five women and twenty men from New York and nearby Connecticut took the same test at the same interval, but did not listen to the radio addresses and did not engage in group discussion. For comparative purposes, the smaller *control* group was exposed only to such influences as normal daily contacts with the newspapers, magazines, books and casual discussion with friends or business associates. The differences that develop between these groups are not to be regarded as due simply to the effect of the radio, but rather to the fact that in the case of the *exposed* group there was added to the usual daily exposure to discussion of unemployment relatively concentrated doses of such discussion emphasized by the regularity of their occurrence and by the possibilities for talking over the addresses with fellow-listeners.

The question is whether such an addition to the normal amount of political education will influence in any measurable way attitudes on an important public question.

The test consisted of two parts. The first was directed at the *number* of ideas, accurate or inaccurate, possessed in connection with unemployment. The second was directed at the *critical attitudes* of these people. What statements about unemployment were they willing to accept as true or probably true? What statements would they reject as false or probably false?

Upon a printed sheet containing eight blank spaces the subject was directed to state as briefly as possible in eight minutes what he considered to be the best solutions or means of relief for unemployment. Most of the subjects had made all their suggestions before the time was up.

The average was 4.50 suggestions per person in the *exposed* group before the radio addresses and group discussions, and 4.91 at the end of the month, an increase of approximately 10 percent. The

Thomas in The Detroit News

Another man supplanted by the machine

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smaller *control* group had an initial average of 4.27 which remained the same upon retesting a month later. We may conclude then that radio addresses and discussions probably did add to the number of ideas about unemployment relief possessed by a group of persons such as those studied.

But the number of ideas is not nearly so significant as the kind of ideas. The approximately 75 distinguishable suggestions made by the 419 members of the *exposed* group, ranged from such obviously popular ideas as "unemployment insurance" to "back to the farm" and "recognize Russia."

Only five suggestions, however, were repeated by more than 10 percent of the papers. These five ideas with the number of papers containing them both before and after the radio series are as follows:

	Before the series	*After the series*
Shorter hours, distributed work	186	199
Unemployment insurance	162	326
Construction of public works	123	144
Government employment agencies	69	134
Tariff reduction	57	52
Total	597	855

Note that while there was an increase after the radio series of only about 10 percent in the total number of suggestions, the popularity of these popular ideas increased by more than 43 percent, indicating that the ideas added as a result of concentrated exposure are likely to be the notions very much in the air.

BUT not all popular ideas showed a marked increase in frequency at the end of the month. The greatest changes took place in "unemployment insurance" and in "governmental employment agencies" while much smaller changes occurred in "public works" and "shorter hours," "tariff reduction" showing an insignificant decrease. This result would indicate that while an increase in the prevalence of an idea depends upon its previous popularity, such an increase is not guaranteed by such popularity. Perhaps some popular ideas have reached the limits of their popularity, while others are not effectively pushed forward. "Governmental employment agencies" and "unemployment insurance" were very much in the air in February 1932 and apparently they were treated effectively by those speakers favoring them.

Since about half the addresses were very "conservative," it cannot be said that the general position of this already "liberal" group was unduly favored. The table below represents the popularity before and after the radio series of a few of the more conservative notions which occurred on the papers.

	Before the series	*After the series*
Creation of jobs by private individuals	37	22
Back to the farm	17	4
Private thrift	9	11
Confine relief to local agencies	1	28
Hard-boiled individualism	6	12

Though much was said in certain of the speeches about confining relief to the local agencies, note that the absolute number of converts was small. One of the speakers gave the march from country to city as partial explanation of the depression, but the idea of a return to the farm did not even hold its original low degree of popularity.

Again the fact that it is the popular ideas that become more popular is illustrated by resistance to certain radical suggestions. One speaker spoke with much feeling and sympathy for the underdog. But while before the series, seventeen persons suggested putting a greater burden of taxes on the rich, after the series the number had not increased.

Let us turn now from the spreading of ideas to the critical power of our public. During the fall and early winter of 1931 for purposes of the study, Mrs. Evelyn V. E. Beck, a graduate student in psychology at Yale, collected every statement which she could secure upon the unemployment problem—from magazine articles, newspapers, pamphlets and speeches. The search was not for valid statements about unemployment, but simply for the raw intellectual stuff that makes up the political atmosphere. Over one thousand statements were gathered and roughly classified into those leaning in a socialistic direction, in an individualistic direction and those which were noncommittal.

From the thousand statements a series of 120 was selected. The three classifications were about equally represented. Alongside each statement was a series of scores. A few illustrations follow:

+2 +1 0 −1 −2 Anyone who really wants a job can find work.

+2 +1 0 −1 −2 As unemployment increases, crime thrives.

+2 +1 0 −1 −2 If the people of the various countries would cease competitive production, an amazing degree of prosperity would be possible for everyone.

+2 +1 0 −1 −2 Due to President Hoover's moratorium, the United States is paying Europe's war costs.

The subjects were instructed to work rapidly and to accept first judgments; +2 to be circled if the person felt that the statement was certainly true; +1, probably or mostly true; 0, difficult or impossible to decide upon; −1, probably or mostly false; −2, certainly false.

The results of this test follow:

Average number of statements for each type of judgment

	Certainly true	*Probably true*	*Doubtful*	*Probably false*	*Certainly false*
EXPOSED GROUP					
Before radio series	37.00	24.25	22.45	14.80	21.15
After radio series	41.65	26.55	17.05	13.95	21.70
CONTROL GROUP					
Beginning of month	34.60	24.95	24.05	15.95	22.05
End of month	32.40	29.95	21.60	16.50	19.50

There is a stronger tendency to accept than to reject these 120 run-of-the-mine statements about unemployment. Although it may be considered that the actual ratio of truth to falsehood is in about the proportion here represented, my own judgment is that the actual truth or falsehood of the large majority of these statements is at present indeterminable and that the only scientifically valid judgment on most of them is that of doubt. This does not imply, however, that our subjects were either stupid or intellectually dishonest. Their quick judgments on this kind of material simply tended more strongly toward credulity than toward doubt or disbelief.

Considering only the *exposed* group, the influence of the radio series plus its accompanying discussions seems then pretty clearly to increase the number of favorable judgments, to decrease the frequency of doubt, and to have little effect on the number of rejections. The changes that occur after a month in the opinions of the *control* group as a result of merely casual political experience seem to be less marked. On the whole our people were positively rather than negatively minded to begin with and the additional exposure to political ideas tended to increase that generally credulous attitude, making them surer of what they did believe without making them surer of what they did not believe. This result fits in very well with our finding about the spread of ideas.

We may turn now to a more detailed examination of the judgments of acceptance, rejection and doubt. When one critically evaluates such a statement as: "We cannot legislate ourselves out of a world-wide depression," or "Russia, with a planned economy, has no problem of unemployment," that evaluation always reflects some at- (*Continued on page* 567)

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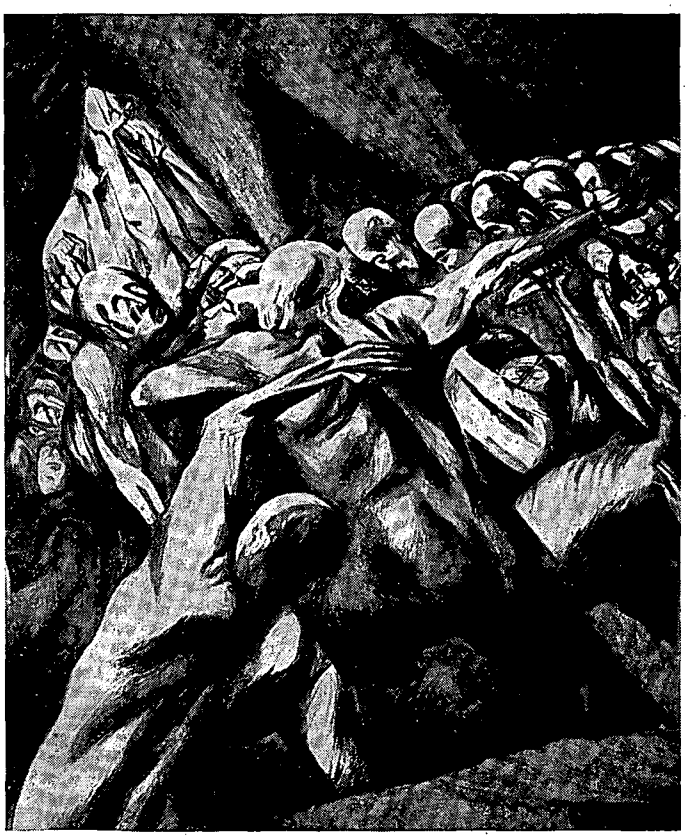
Courtesy of Delphic Studios, New York

Prometheus, fresco in the students' dining hall at Pomona. Orozco has taken Prometheus as a symbol of the creative artist who burns his hands to bring fire to give life to humanity

Murals in Two Colleges

Pomona and Dartmouth

BY JOSÈ CLEMENTE OROZCO



Struggling Humanity. Detail of the mural above

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Release, a fresco recently made for a corridor in the library at Dartmouth. Mankind, long subservient to the domination of the machines of war as well as of peace, has freed his hands

Orozco, one of the outstanding figures in the Mexican mural painting movement, talks readily about Art—the most disinterested form of painting is the mural, he says; it is for all the people—but he has very little to say about his own art: he does not believe in titles or explanations, he thinks his paintings either have something to say to the spectator or nothing. In the past two years he has executed three murals, all for educational institutions (the third is at The New School for Social Research in New York). This winter he is engaged on a huge fresco project at Dartmouth, an epic of civilization on this continent. The first book devoted to his work is about to be brought out by the Delphic Studios, with more than two hundred reproductions of paintings, drawings, lithographs.

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How Build a Peace Program?

WILLIAM HARD *Asks*—JANE ADDAMS *Answers*

An Interview Over the Network of the National Broadcasting Company

Force and the League

1. *Question:* Miss Addams, you have recently appeared before the Resolutions Committtee of the Republican National Convention and also before the informal Resolutions Committee of the approaching Democratic National Convention as an advocate of a peace program containing quite a few proposed policies for our country. One of these policies, proposed by you on behalf of an important group of people called the Emergency Peace Committee, is "an increased participation in the work of the League of Nations." Now it is well known that the Covenant, or Constitution, of the League of Nations embraces a possible resort to force for the preservation of peace. It is equally well known that you are far from being an advocate of force. It is perfectly clear, at the same time, that we Americans are already increasingly participating in the work of the League of Nations without at all committing ourselves to any resort to force for the preservation of peace. It is a most interesting and a most valuable development, which I have myself with my own eyes observed at Geneva.

It seems to me, Miss Addams, that the American radio audience would be immensely interested in your ideas as to how it can be still further advanced. Will you illustrate to us what you mean when you speak of a closer American cooperation with the League.

Answer: The League of Nations was established so soon after the war, Mr. Hard, that certain participants, like the sorely tried French, were still suffering from shellshock. It was quite natural at such a moment that the League should provide military sanctions to be invoked to bring a recalcitrant nation into line. In the entire history of the League of Nations, however, such military sanctions, so provided for, have never been used although the League has been faced by a number of severe crises.

As time goes on, it is less and less probable that military sanctions will be used. You yourself said the other day, Mr. Hard, in your address before the Foreign Policy Association that the French, when faced by the recent situation in the East, found themselves as unwilling to send their sons to Manchuria as the Americans would be to send their boys to settle a difficulty in Jugoslavia.

To many of us the notion of military power connected with the League of Nations has been an anachronism from the first. The very existence of the League is a departure from such methods, as the early establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States was a declaration of a new type of relation between the thirteen colonies. Of course you will recall that each colony gradually dropped its own army, slowly at first—it took New York two and a half years—because each became convinced that in case of any difficulty it could appeal to the Supreme Court, and the United States Constitution itself finally forbade the states to maintain armies and navies.

At different times three former residents of Hull-House have been identified with the League of Nations: Julia Lathrop as an assessor of the Child Welfare division, followed later by another of our residents, Grace Abbott, the present chief of the Children's Bureau, and Dr. Alice Hamilton, now a professor in the Harvard Medical School, who served on a health commission. It was quite as natural for these three women, appointed by the United States government in the fashion appointments were then made, to go to Geneva in their effort to forward the welfare of children, as they had already gone from Chicago to Washington. In fact, the American participation in the League has come about naturally. Whenever there is a genuine situation which can be furthered by participation in the League, I hope America will continue to cooperate. It would seem to me simpler that she should become a member of the League, pay her share of the expenses, and be entitled to a vote with the rest, but the essential thing is that she should cooperate with the other nations.

To say that the League is remote from our daily experiences is absurd. I recall one of the early meetings in Geneva on migratory labor, called by the Labor Office of the League of Nations. A number of Italian workmen came in to see me about it—very much excited because such care was to be taken on behalf of their friends. At that time the Italians had a habit of going to South America in the early winter, which was of course the time the crops south of the Equator were ripening, and they would work their way up through South and Central America and the United States into Manitoba, harvesting all the way. But sometimes they would get into difficulties in remote places where they could find no Italian consul and the whole undertaking was fraught with many difficulties, some of them purely legalistic. It seemed to them the most natural thing in the world that somewhere the nations should meet and discuss this awkward situation which could not be remedied by Italy alone nor even by the powerful United States, but could only be taken care of through international agreement.

The interests of the League touch us intimately in one way or another almost every day of our lives, but those interests lie in the way of protection for the helpless, the welfare of children and a thousand other aspects of life which have nothing to do with the use of force. In fact, the use of military force is possible to the League of Nations only under such very remote and exceptional circumstances that it may never be invoked, as it never has been. The League would have been a thousand times stronger if the possibility were removed, as many of its friends contended from the first. Perhaps the entrance of the United States, which is so enthusiastic at the moment for changing constitutions, would make this possible.

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Moral Energy — Physical Force

2. *Question:* Thank you for that explanation, Miss Addams. Let me then ask you to proceed from the Covenant of the League of Nations to the other most important treaty-document in the world for the attempted preservation of the peace of the world. I allude, of course, to the Pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the inspiration of which was the Outlawry of War movement, set going so energetically and so persuasively by your fellow Chicagoan, Salmon O. Levinson. In the peace program which you have suggested to the Republican and Democratic Parties you have included this: that there should be an agreement by the United States government to consult with other governments in case of a violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact or of other threats to world peace. In the Republican platform a pledge to that effect, to that substantial effect, was included. May I ask you: If and when an international conference meets to consider a possible outbreak of war, what measures do you think it can effectively take in the field of moral as distinguished from physical force? And what confidence do you think we should have in such "moral" measures?

Many of us have much. You probably have more. Will you tell us the reasons for your faith?

Answer: As a Chicagoan, I am naturally very proud of the fact that the Pact of Paris—the Kellogg Pact as we like to call it—resulted so directly from Mr. Levinson's campaign for the Outlawry of War. Seldom has any campaign moved more quickly to success. It was a great advance toward an organized and peaceful world when the Pact was signed by the leading nations of the world. The very warlike events in Manchuria, because of the Pact, have resulted in one of the most striking pronouncements of modern times, which Secretary Stimson sent in despatches to China and Japan and reaffirmed later in his letter to Senator Borah. He made clear that illegal force shall not result in legal gains; i. e., territorial adjustments reached by methods contrary to the agreement of the Pact of Paris could have no standing with the United States. He made this announcement January 7, 1932, and the Assembly of the League of Nations solemnly adopted it on March 11. This turned out extremely well because the League of Nations in this instance followed the lead of the United States; but perhaps it would have been more reasonable and courteous to have reached this conclusion together, although no doubt it is natural that the United States should consider the Kellogg Pact its own child and be very quick to resent its repudiation.

I think you will agree that Mr. Stimson used moral energy as distinguished from physical force. I firmly believe that nothing else will prevail but this gradual moralization of our international relations. Quite as the truculent citizen no longer settles a quarrel with his neighbor by means of his fists but takes his case into court for legal adjustment, so the nations must learn gradually to substitute law for war. This might be illustrated by the vigilance committees which were inevitably found in California and other new communities of men who had no time to establish civil governments. The vigilance committee hung a horse-thief on the nearest tree, acting as judge, jury and executioner all in one, and the community approved. But gradually, when courts were established and sheriffs elected, to use violence in such a way was itself made illegal.

Nations are rapidly moving in this same direction. That they should move together, understanding each other's motives through conferences and mutual deliberations, seems but the natural outcome of the moral appeal.

Disarmament a Step Toward Security

3. *Question:* Very good. You have spoken now, Miss Addams, of the growth of the spirit of peace in the world. That growth, I think, is not only prospective. It is contemporary. It is actual. You were good enough to commend me and to say that you agreed with me, the other day here in Chicago, when in a public address I stated as a reporter that in most countries of the world today the desire for the conquest of foreign territories inhabited by foreign populations, is virtually dead. In the light of that development toward a non-aggressive temper among the world's peoples the recent remarkable increases in expenditures on armaments by the world's governments are in the nature of an appalling paradox. In your talks to the Resolutions Committees of the Republican and Democratic Conventions, you spoke of the growing "uselessness" of armaments. May I inquire of you: How far would you have the United States go in that direction? And on what terms? In other words, do you really hope that there might be an international agreement for getting rid of armies and navies altogether?

Answer: Although nations like men are not very logical, as you doubtless know, Mr. Hard, the present situation brought about through the American secretary of state naturally suggests, does it not, that some day a nation will at last ask itself the question: Why do we seek to gain by going to war something which the world refuses to concede? Why impoverish a nation for elaborate defence when the organized opinion of the world stands ready to deny the agressor the fruits of his agression? In short, why prepare for war under these changed circumstances?

In this fast-moving world disarmament, twenty-five years ago, was a wild dream. Until yesterday it was a laborious matter of matching tonnage and war planes. The President of the United States gave it a tremendous impetus by his very recent suggestion of a one third reduction all around. Is it too much to hope that in the future—perhaps the near future—it will become the obvious course to get altogether rid of what is no longer useful? The present armament situation is also harmful: As the chief obstacle to a resort to arms and to the success of the pacific means of settlement pledged in the Kellogg Pact.

We wish the United States might enunciate another principle of international law, which President Hoover has already enunciated in relation to Haiti, and President Taft and President Coolidge had already intimated in connection with the United States troops in Nicaragua: the protection of nationals and their property in foreign countries, no matter what they do, shall be taken care of through civil processes without the intervention of the Navy and the Marines. We believe that such a doctrine, made universal, would deal a body blow at imperialism all over the world, and imperialism, as you know, is the mother of modern militarism. During 1931 the world spent five billion dollars on useless armaments. In that very year half the governments were bankrupt, millions of men and women were unemployed, with myriads of children undernourished. It will be increasingly difficult to defend

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such folly, not only to those who are facing starvation but to every one of us.

I would have disarmament come about through international agreement, and would be very proud if the United States—perhaps the most secure and powerful of all the nations—would lead the movement as rapidly as possible. In point of fact, we do not realize that a number of the nations are already proceeding to disarm: Denmark almost completely by votes of successive parliaments; Sweden with a Department of Defense substituted for the Department of War; Germany and the other Central Powers by international agreements; Iceland, an island accessible to all the navies of the world, but with the oldest government in Europe, celebrating its one thousandth anniversary a year ago, without a single warship.

The situation is moving rapidly on the line which the peace people advocated in the years before the World War:

1. The establishment of machinery for the arbitration and adjudication of all differences between nations.

2. A sense of security which would result from the use of this machinery.

3. Disarmament gradually occurring because arms were no longer essential for security—but a deadly menace to it.

Nationalization of Munitions

4. *Question:* You have given us your hopes, Miss Addams. Till those hopes are realized, there remains the manufacture of armaments and there remains the trade, the private trade, in armaments. I note that in your suggestions for platform planks for the Republican and Democratic Parties, you included "the nationalization of munitions." You wish, I take it, to eliminate the munitions business, the armaments business, as a private business. You wish to confine the producing of armaments and the possessing of armaments and the trading in armaments, to the world's governmental authorities. Will you tell us your reasons for that proposal?

Answer: We have come to regard with horror the results of unrestricted trade in armaments and of the profits derived from their manufacture and sale because we see that private profits accruing from the great armament factories are a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war, and we therefore urge as a first step that governments agree to the nationalization of arms and munitions. It has already been proposed to the Disarmament Conference at present sitting in Geneva, that:

1. No new orders for war material should be permitted for an agreed number of years.

2. During this time the estimated need for every country for small arms (police, frontier guards, sports, etc.) shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations; new estimates to be presented at fixed intervals.

Such an agreement would sound like the dictates of a supergovernment to the United States of America, but would be a great improvement over what happens now. When Massachusetts some years ago attempted to minimize the sale of firearms, especially to minors, word came to the legislature from the United States War Department that such legislation would be unfortunate because it was desirable to keep up the sales of small-arms factories so that they might be going concerns in case of war and able to manufacture arms for the United States government.

We further believe that the nationalization of munitions would not only eliminate private profits accruing to the great armament factories but would also reduce war scares. That such scares are from time to time deliberately fomented was made quite clear by an American citizen representing munition interests at a recent international conference for the reduction of armaments.

Tariffs and Peace

5. *Question:* Miss Addams, your discussion of the private trade in munitions takes us over naturally into the field of economics. Your recommendations to the Republicans and to the Democrats had economic as well as what we call political features. You argued, for instance, that the world should have lower tariff walls between its several countries. Yet you were not speaking from a solely economic point of view. You seemed to believe that a lowering of tariff walls would conduce to peace. You seemed to believe that altitudinous tariffs are in some degree dangerous to peace. Will you tell our auditors, in a little more detail, your reasons for that view?

Answer: We believe first, Mr. Hard, that unrestricted intercourse between nations must in the long run make for better understanding and good-will. A protective tariff is in and of itself a purely nationalistic measure although it becomes more and more evident that the mobility of goods and the freedom of trade intercourse is essential even to national prosperity. We cannot expect to sell our wheat to nations to whom we make it impossible that they should sell us manufactured goods. We believe that a revival of world trade depends among other things upon a drastic reduction in tariffs. I was in Austria in 1921 when tariffs throughout southeastern Europe were being used as an instrument in a sort of static warfare, which indeed they may easily become. In Vienna that summer it was cheaper to buy wheat from the Argentine, although Austria had no seaport of its own, than it was to buy it from the Great Basin of the Danube—at the moment under the control of the Hungarians—although the Viennese had fed from that Basin for a thousand years.

The lowering of an excessive nationalistic tariff will probably take place first, for reasons which you yourself so cogently explained last Friday, through some sort of a customs union in Europe, beginning possibly in the Southeast where the tariffs have been so unfair. It is perhaps one of the finest indications we have of the return of good-will between recent enemies that the Balkan States may be willing to live and let live, in their trade relations.

An Outbreak of Good-Will

6. *Question:* Miss Addams, one further question in the field of economics. You have advocated here in Chicago, to the delegates of our national conventions, the cancellation of reparations from the vanquished in the late Great War to the victors and also the cancellation of the debts from the European victors to the government of the United States. Do you think that the good feeling produced by these cancellations would outweigh the injustice which it is claimed they would impose upon American taxpayers? Or do you think that they imply no such injustice?

Answer: You know, Mr. Hard, I did not advocate, to put it mildly, the entrance of the United States into the World War; but our government having become an associated power with the Allies, it seems to me that it undertook finan-

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cial obligations as well as the military ones for which money was spent so freely.

An analysis of the debts would show that much of the indebtedness is for material and munitions bought in this country at excessive war prices, and which was used, as the Europeans believe, in a common cause. If it had been taken for granted from the beginning that the United States sent supplies in the same spirit that it sent its soldiers, the public would not have gotten into this attitude of a righteous creditor claiming his own, irrespective of the debtor's ability to pay or the consequences to the creditor himself in case he did pay.

This attitude would not be of great consequence if it were not clear that the adjustment of the whole question of war-debts and reparations is essential to world prosperity. While we realize that the United States is receiving no reparations, nevertheless the two things are so closely allied that it is impossible to separate them actually, although it may be done by the use of pure logic. Let us in any event have a national commission—and when possible an international conference linked up with disarmament—to go into the whole question and at least disentangle the validity of the various demands. The inherent difficulty in repayment arises from the fact that the materials the United States shipped to Europe designed for munitions as well as the manufactured munitions sent over from here, were all blown up and left nothing behind in the way of property, not even for collateral; and that the food was fed to men who were engaged in destroying property; so that on the whole it became impossible to make a payment for "value received," all values having been destroyed.

A leading economist very soon after the war made a statement which then appeared to be very foolish but which now begins to sound like economic wisdom. He said that the only way Europe could repay the war debts to the United States without dislocating trade and upsetting the whole structure of exchange, was to continue to make munitions to which they were accustomed and which would keep them at work for governmental wages, buying material from the United States of America when necessary, and then shipping enough munitions to our shores to pay the debts in full. The United States, however, must agree to select some safe spot on the Atlantic coast and, as one shipload after another arrived, must promptly set off these European munitions in huge bonfires. That would keep our trade balance secure and not upset matters, as would surely ensue if Europe tried to pay in useful manufactured goods for material which had been wantonly and systematically destroyed. I am not enough of an economist to know if he was right or wrong, but I suspect that there may be something in this reasoning. It seems only fair, in any event, that the war-debts part of the war situation should reflect something of the glamor of those sterling war virtues of loyalty and generous treatment of companions in arms. Instead of this, however, the war debts are being treated in the coldest possible spirit of commercialism.

Perhaps what the world needs more than anything else at this moment is an outbreak of good-will and human understanding, so genuine, so powerful, that it may overwhelm the suspicion and distrust which has paralyzed trade and has poisoned every relationship. Nothing could achieve this so quickly and so powerfully as a statement by the United States that the war debts were being considered generously and impartially. I do not believe that it would work an injustice upon the taxpayer on any other basis than that war debts are always an unfair burden upon him. On the contrary, the action of such a war debt commission might go far towards dispelling that sense of depression with which most of the world is surrounded. We are told that the great achievements of the human race are those which have brought deliverance from some form of terror or of depression. They have been the gains for some new sort of freedom. What an opportunity the world at present presents to the nation which is ready to take it! The good-will the United States attained from China by the renunciation of the Boxer indemnity would be as nothing to what it might have now.

The New Technique of World Conference

7. *Question:* Miss Addams, you have been very considerate in giving us your time at this microphone; but there is one concluding question I want to ask you before you leave it. In the course of a recent protracted residence at Geneva, Switzerland, for the purpose of broadcasting Geneva news to the United States, I noted the value of international conferences, quite apart from any supposed value of the Covenant of the League of Nations, in bringing the conferring countries not indeed always to solutions of their controversies but virtually invariably to friendlier sentiments toward one another. It was borne in upon me that so-called national policies, which are really policies directed toward international affairs, would have a more realistic and a more successful character if they were developed less in the seclusion of state departments and of foreign offices and more in the atmosphere of assembled data and of assembled views that international conferences afford. I observed, therefore, with the greatest interest, that your final recommendation to the Republicans was "participation by our government in international conferences on economic problems of vital importance to world recovery, such as the problems of currencies and credits." So may I ask you: What scope would you give to international conferences, what scope would you give to internationalism, in the finding of the answers to the economic evils which produce so much of the human suffering now existent throughout the world?

Answer: There is little doubt that the more often representatives of various nations meet in conference the more they discover that many problems are world-wide in their implications and can only be solved if the nations come together to consider them. They also learn a technique of conferring together, and it is a matter of real regret to many of us that since the war the United States has failed so often to avail itself of the education and adaptation which other nations are developing through annual conferences. And yet, more and more the United States is being drawn into these conferences and is developing "observers" who are fast becoming valuable representatives. You told us on Friday that the United States constantly maintained six consuls at Geneva who act as observers. Perhaps nothing is more needed in the present state of the world than a spot devoted to international conference in which representatives may repair to take counsel together.

The United States has a fine record in regard to international conferences. This history extends from the Arbitral Tribunals established by John Jay in 1794 to the recent establishment of the International Bank at Basle. For more than a hundred years the United States of America rendered its good offices in mediation, international commissions of inquiry, commissions of conciliation—all of which have been universally successful when resorted to. We are now called upon to establish justice and cooperation through this new technique of world conference, and it is hard to understand why we hesitate.

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Trustees of 100 Billions

By ALBERT G. MILBANK

TAKING trusteeship in its larger sense, trustees in America are assuming responsibility for the wise management of funds having the appalling total of one hundred billion dollars. That is the outstanding and amazing information that emerges from Trusteeship of American Endowments, prepared by Wood Struthers and Company, a leading fiscal agency of New York City, and just published by Macmillan (probable price $4 postpaid of Survey Graphic). The book is more than a handbook of passing interest to those charged with guarding the financial interests of educational, charitable and religious organizations, for it will be of practical assistance to that larger group of trustees which the authors refer to as "commercial trustees," namely, trust companies, banks exercising fiduciary functions, insurance companies and savings. Through a series of analyses the subject is approached from every conceivable angle.

There is a particularly detailed study of the individual and composite investment of thirty American colleges whose combined portfolios exceed a half billion dollars. The thousands of different securities held are analyzed according to their class (bonds, preferred stocks, common stocks, mortgages), according to the field of investment (railroads, utilities, industrials, municipals), according to their quality, according to "income and current return," and there is included at the end of the volume a complete list of the investments held by five or more of the institutions under review.

The authors have wisely confined their investigation to thirty representative American colleges and universities, a number large enough to show distinctive trends and establish reliable averages. Any larger number would have complicated the study without compensating advantages. Care has been taken to violate no confidences by omitting all references that could identify any of the specific endowments under review, but in order to give point to certain of the observations made and to avoid misleading inferences the authors have classified the thirty institutions into three classes: Class A covering those endowment funds having an aggregate value of from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000; Class B covering those from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000; and Class C above $20,000,000.

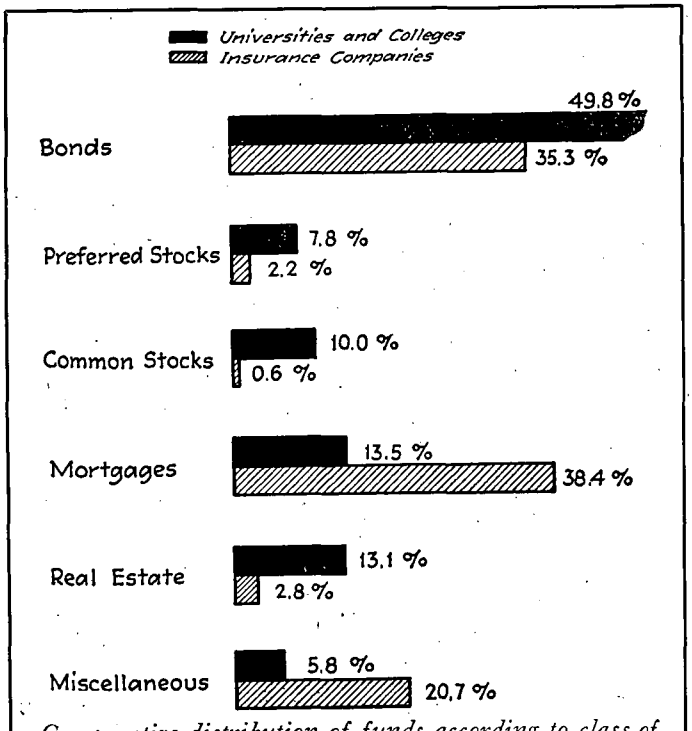
The text is made more effective by a series of charts which graphically reveal the contrast found by comparing the investment policies (or lack of them) of the thirty educational institutions under review and also by comparing their composite experience with that of fifty-two insurance companies and with what the authors term "An Outstanding Foundation"—also unnamed.

While some of the analyses go into considerable detail and will therefore appeal more directly to fiscal officers, the book as a whole is thoroughly readable and will command the interest and attention of that very considerable body of trustees who do not pretend to be experts in the field of investments but who have a very real sense of responsibility to see that the institution to which they are attached not only serves the purposes for which it was organized but also conserves the principal of the endowment upon the safety and productivity of which its operations depend.

No doubt can remain in the mind of any trustee that safety of principal and permanence of income cannot be assured by relying alone upon the wisdom exercised in the original purchase of a sound investment. "Buy this and put it in your box and forget it" appears to be one of the surest roads to ultimate disappointment. Constant vigilance and expert advice in periodic reviews and in intelligent revision of an investment list is essential. Courage to take action, whether prompted by fleeting opportunities to better income without sacrificing the safety of principal, or to better the safety of principal without sacrifice in income, or whether prompted by impending changes of a more fundamental character, is also essential. Foundations can be laid for taking prudent action by establishing units of investment that are neither too large nor too small and by avoiding the Scylla of over-diversification and the Charybdis of under-diversification.

THE book shows an intelligent grasp of the composite mentality of trustees as well as of the composite fund under their control. On this point it is worthwhile to quote:

> Likewise, many a rigid investment policy which was supposed to assure safety for a fund has proved inadequate when subjected to the test of meeting emergencies without precedent. Hence the usefulness, approaching necessity, of having a high degree of flexibility in both the policy and the mental attitude of those responsible for collegiate investments. The need of such flexibility is coming to be better appreciated by many who formerly were inclined to put faith in formal rules of procedure for the protection of invested funds. At least, the kaleidoscopic changes of the last three years have caused rather general recognition of the grave dangers of any quiescent policy of passive acceptance of newborn risks and prospective losses.



Comparative distribution of funds according to class of investment

Charts by courtesy the Macmillan Company

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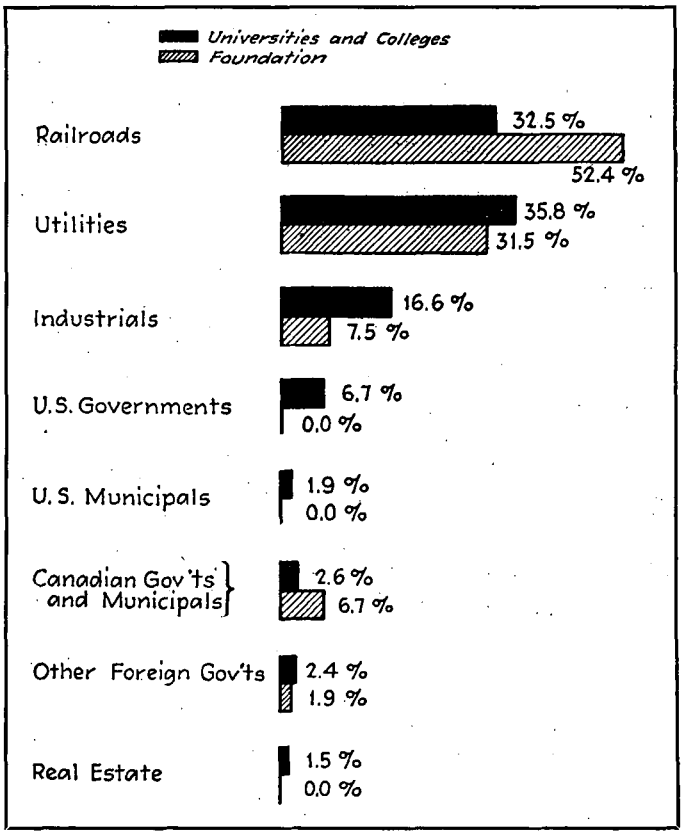
There is a sympathetic approach to the problem which faces every trustee in trying to get the maximum income consistent with safety of principal. And there is recognition of the difference which exists between the trustees of institutions like insurance companies whose obligations to policyholders are dischargeable in dollars, and trustees of universities and colleges whose obligations are measured to a very great extent by the cost of the services performed. As student enrolment increases and as faculty salaries increase to meet higher living costs, income must be increased, either by enlarged endowment or by greater productivity of existing endowment. The authors therefore recognize the propriety of including a reasonable percentage of common stocks in any well-rounded university or college endowment fund.

They have the courage to indicate their views as to what might be termed an ideal apportionment of collegiate funds among the varied investment media. Taking the entire fund, as a basis for calculation, they indicate the following apportionment:

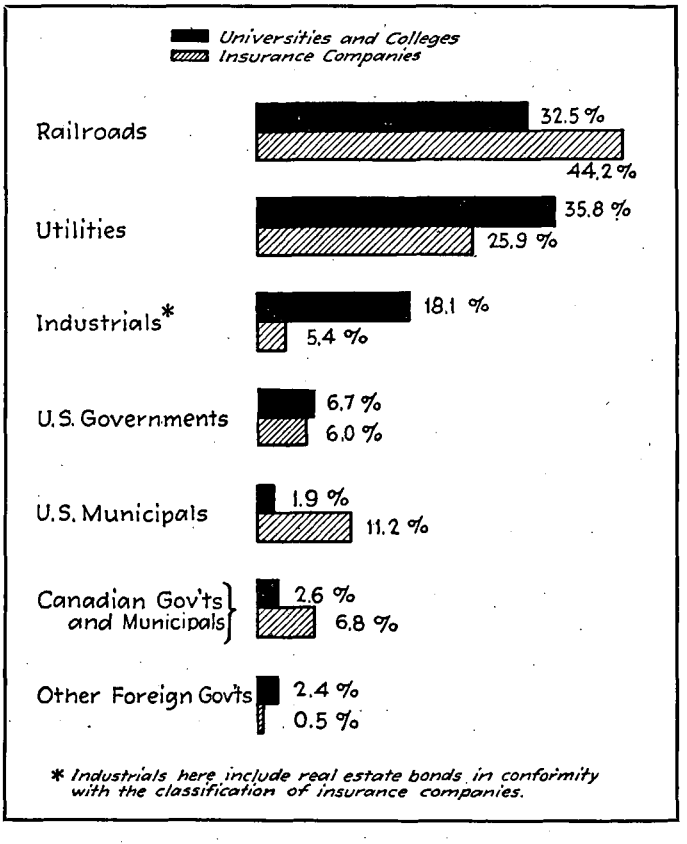
In the field of railroad investments:		
Bonds	19%	
Preferred stock	1%	
Common stock	1%	
Total		21%
In the field of public-utility investments:		
Bonds	21%	
Preferred stock	5%	
Common stock	2%	
Total		28%
In the field of industrial investments:		
Bonds	5%	
Preferred stock	4%	
Common stock	5%	
Total		14%
In the field of governmental securities:		
United States Bonds	3%	
Municipals	None	
Foreign	2%	
Total		5%
In the field of real-estate investments:		
Bonds	None	
Mortgages	20%	
Real property	5%	
Total		25%
In the field of bank and insurance shares		2%
Miscellaneous:		5%
Grand Total		100%

The authors have worked out a system of measuring the intrinsic value of a security at any given date and in applying this system have graded bonds and stocks into five classes, relegating all not so classified to a general classification which they call Ungraded. Without going into this subject in detail it is interesting to note that in their opinion collegiate funds, invested in bonds, should be largely confined to Grade 1 and Grade 2 with some of the best Grade 3, and that all others should be avoided. In preferred stocks selection should be confined almost wholly to Grade 1 with a few exceptions in Grade 2. In common stocks selection should be exclusively confined to Grade 1.

The book concludes with a list of the bonds and stocks actually held by five or more of the thirty universities and colleges under review. This in itself is an interesting exhibit and will be studied by trustees and fiscal officers of the universities and colleges of the country because, if for no other reason, of the human impulse "to see what the other fellow is doing" with his share of responsibility in the one hundred billions.



Comparative distribution of bonds according to field of investment



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Of War Debts and Other Menaces

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

PERFECTLY obvious—so self-evidently obvious and known of all men that a child of any age from six to three-score-and-ten, including presidents and candidates for the presidency of the United States, readily can and commonly does misunderstand it—is the fact that the nations of Europe owe to the government of the United States a whale of a lot of money. They already have paid somewhere in the neighborhood of $2,600,000,000; how much more they owe is a thing difficult to estimate, depending as it does upon a lot of variable factors subject to wide disagreement, including the element of time, rates of interest simple and compound, and other recondite mysteries known only to the statisticians and economists. Equally obvious is it that if and to such extent as they do not pay it, the taxpayers of the United States (which in the long run means everybody) will have to pay or lose it; anyway make it up somehow.

It seems so absurdly simple that around the stoves and pickle-barrels in country stores, in club windows in the cities, across dinner-tables and wherever else folk wrangle about the problems of the universe, it has been settled a thousand, maybe a million times, according to the unequivocal formula: "They owe us the money. They ought to pay. They've got to pay. If they can't pay or are not going to pay, they're the ones that have got to default; on their heads be the shame of the welching. Besides, if we don't make 'em pay, they'll just spend it on more preparations for war—probably war against us. As it is, they're buying guns with *our* money."

That sort of thing. People who owe money ought to pay it; it's the business of creditors to collect what is due them. Let's have no more nonsense about it. Franklin D. Roosevelt has more than intimated that if he is elected president of the United States he will require these debtor nations to "acknowledge the debts." I do not know what he means by that, even if he does—we hold their notes, and have received thousands of millions on account. Up to June 30, 1932, Great Britain alone had paid us more than a billion-and-a-half, France half a billion, Italy nearly $150,000,000. Mr. Hoover knows that they have both acknowledged and paid; he engineered a brief moratorium which for the time being somewhat allayed the situation but was only a temporizing makeshift; it did not essentially change the situation. Since then the Lausanne agreements have registered chiefly if not only the fact that Germany is through with payments; but since virtually all the payments to us depended upon the payments by Germany, that undermines the whole structure. All the rest of it, and the future in general, depend now upon what the United States is going to do, especially in view of the fact that nothing that we can do will enable us to collect what does not exist.

People who owe ought to pay, and creditors have a right, legally anyway, to collect what is due them. But there is such a thing as throwing good money after bad; as spending two dollars to collect one, which as everybody knows is not a remunerative operation. Also there is such a thing as behaving toward your customers who owe you money and cannot pay, in such a manner and spirit as to make them not only default on their bills but take their trade elsewhere. Nobody who depends for his livelihood upon the good will and continued trade of a great community, or a little one either, can afford to do that; yet up to now that is the general atmosphere of the war debt situation as a whole. Moreover, by our tariff policy we have made almost impossible payments in the only form in which our debtors can make them, and even Mr. Hoover's mollifying gesture, the moratorium, was afterward authorized by Congress in so grudging spirit as largely to nullify its healing effects.

MEANWHILE, slowly spreads among the more intelligent of our people an increasing realization of the truth that the war-debt business is the major factor in the continuing demoralization of the world's financial and economic life; a growing suspicion that our possession of the creditor end of this stupendous obligation has cost, is costing and will continue to cost us more than it is worth or ever can be worth, even from the most selfish point of view. The total of our losses, shrinkages, loss of export trade, destruction of individual assets, would pay the war-debts many times over—just as the expense of buying the slaves would have been a bagatelle compared with the cost of our Civil War. If it be true (as I firmly believe) that the composition of the war-debts upon some practicable and pacifying basis, once for all or by reasonable postponements—even if it involved ultimately the absolute cancellation of every outstanding dollar of it—would go far, perhaps decisively, to restore economic vigor to the life of the whole world including our own, and prove a tremendously wise investment.

The truth is that the average bystander, expressly including myself, is incompetent to have even an opinion on this subject; certainly not without an intense study of which few are capable and against a background of economic and historical information and understanding such as few possess. For it is doubtful whether there is or ever has been another situation in the world more complicated, more baffling, more intricate with offsets and discounts, including the incalculable imponderables.

The whole process is extremely complex. It touches intimately the fiscal, currency, trade and general economic conditions of all the countries concerned, and, as we shall see, its ramifications extend to the world as a whole.

This excerpt is taken from what seems to me the clearest, most readable, most satisfactory and objective study of the war-debt problem, among all the deluge of literature, propaganda, emotional welter generally, that has befogged and befuddled discussion of this subject ever since the Treaty of Versailles opened its Pandora's Box of troubles upon the war-fevered world.

THIS study[1] is the culmination of a series of investigations carried on by the coldly scientific Brookings Institution, of Washington, in the field of post-war governmental and international fiscal problems, beginning in 1923 with that on Germany's Capacity to Pay. While scholarly and scientific, buttressed by exhaustive statistical exhibits tracing the history of the reparations business in minute detail from beginning to the present summer, it is intelligible and interesting to the ordinary reader. At the outset it confronted explicitly the two fundamental questions which it answers unequivocally in the words following:

1. *A complete obliteration of all reparation and war-debt obligations would promote, rather than retard, world economic prosperity.*
2. *The collection of these intergovernmental debts would be economically detrimental, rather than beneficial, to the creditor countries.* (*Continued on page* 576)

[1] WAR DEBTS AND WORLD PROSPERITY, *by Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky. The Brookings Institution. 498 pp. $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Literature on The Left

THE LIBERATION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, *by V. F. Calverton. Scribner. 500 pp. Price $3.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MARK TWAIN'S AMERICA, *by Bernard DeVoto. Little, Brown. 353 pp. Price $4 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

FRANK NORRIS, *A Biography, by Franklin Walker. Doubleday-Doran. 317 pp. Price $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

CERTAIN American authors and artists recently issued a call for the formation of committees to support the Communist candidates in the national election, declaring "Adherence to Communism is the only effective way to protest against the chaos, the appalling wastefulness, and the indescribable misery inherent in the present economic system." Among the forty-five signers were such important figures as Theodore Dreiser, Lincoln Steffens, Sidney Howard, Edmund Wilson, Waldo Frank and John Dos Passos. They have chosen the left road, a grave choice, leaving middle-class liberalism, to adopt the proletarian cause wherein they see health and salvation. They have refused the other two open roads: Humanism, based on a search for values and inter-linked with religion; and Planning, the engineers' concept of progress in evolution under science. Science will probably approach the proletariat as a problem in population and environment. The Communists say, I judge, that they embrace both other ways for they seek values for the mass of humanity, and will demand of science all that it can do for people. But the will-to-change, the revolution, can only come from the masses.

Now, we can justly ask of these manifestants, What influence will this faith have on your talents? and what on American literature? Your gifts cannot be used solely for the instruments of propaganda; that would be a great loss. Their answer would be no doubt that they had no choice. Their sincerity and sensitiveness forced them into the struggle, for no artist can serve art in such an unresolved chaos of suffering. Mere nerves will not let him create much of anything until he has more peace and quiet. Furthermore, he is finished with telling how nerves do jangle in this civilization. The records of the clinic are already stuffed, and they turn out to be not art, but left-handed propaganda. To long for the ivory tower or the golden age is at the moment blasphemy. So to align themselves with the proletariat is to find health,—to act is to get release. They may be the Lost Battalion, but they may help create a world in which an artist *can* live. Most of us can sympathize with that mood whatever road we choose as the way out.

CALVERTON reaches the same conclusion in his very useful, wide-ranging, and challenging study of the social forces that have molded literature in the United States. His thesis is that the colonial complex and the petty bourgeois tradition in economic life and morals (even on the frontier) prevented any realistic and creative expression of American life until the forces of liberation began to act about 1890. Among these forces were the consciousness of the working class; the split into upper and lower bourgeois groups with the upper gaining wealth and power enough to disregard the religious, sex and censorship taboos in a cynical "new freedom," while the lower level, slowly denied the right to rise, developed a fierce criticism of the piracy, inhumanity, gold and power lust above them; and the impact of Continental rather than English cultures.

This is the economic interpretation of literature, and it is very valuable to have the theme and the evidence developed as comprehensively. But I think certain forces are under-stressed: one, the pure inspiration of the frontier and the westward march as suggested by DeVoto in this present study of Mark Twain and by Constance Rourke in American Humor. And two, the spirit of modern science, with its empirical method, its concept of evolution and so progress, and its development of biology and lastly psychology. Science did more than bring the industrial revolution, the machines and the machine proletariat. Biological determinism got a toe-hold and mechanistic atheism. Consider Dreiser, or Frank Norris who, his present biographer thinks, picked up from Joseph Le Conte, geology teacher at the University of California, notions on determinism that helped shape McTeague and Vandover.

It takes a large formula to explain a literature as Mr. Calverton well knows. He shows that the "Puritan myth" will not explain our religious conventions and the genteel tradition so he advances the petty bourgeois of Dissenter bias who lacked the liberal culture of the higher English Puritans. He is willing to consider the function of the aristocracy as a patron of letters. Quite clearly, he declares that proletarian art as well as bourgeois art has to be *art* if it is to be significant so that rebellious zeal in a worker voice is not enough. Perhaps the above writers may bring into proletarian literature the sense of form, though not the form of the academy. And admirably he does not crucify authors because they did not write books impossible for their spirits or times. His theme is that they had to write what they did. So while judging Mark Twain as limited by petty bourgeois ideals, he says Mark never sold out his birthright and that his pessimism came with age.

One thesis does not explain everything, but back of Mr. Calverton's is enough fact and enough thought to make it fruitful. And does it not gain force from the left turn of the manifestants? Here are makers of literature in part at least changed by economic events. We must consider soberly then his view that the liberation will lead us only into deeper chaos and despair unless authors succeed in allying themselves with the growing proletarian tradition. We need not accept his dictum that our only important writers, not surrendered to pessimism and pathology, are those exponents of the proletarian outlook, Dos Passos, Michael Gold, Charles Yale Harrison. But we must ponder his idea (and that of these others) that what is needed is a renewed faith in the masses, not in the individualist sense of Emerson and Whitman, but in the sense of proletarian communism. If we have no faith in the masses, shall we have fear?

WE shall need hammer and anvil criticism (with burnt fingers and bruised pride) to work the manifold metals of literature to our service. DeVoto is a heavy hammer in Mark Twain's America, and the anvil is Messrs. Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Lewis Mumford, et al. The metal is the question: Was Mark Twain a great creative genius who put himself, his experience, and the folkways and humor and beauty and fire of the West into books that remain the greatest contributions of America to world letters? Yes, shouts DeVoto in a grand fierce book not quite in the genteel tradition, ending on the words: "Since Mark Twain's passing the nation's literature has been empty of greatness." Those are clearly fighting words like those once uttered by Michael Gold about Thornton Wilder. They will bring a lovely battle—and that's good for criticism.

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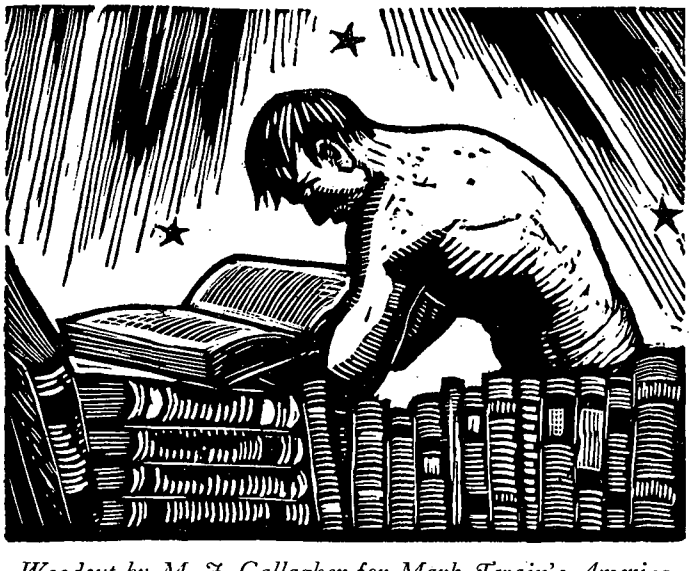
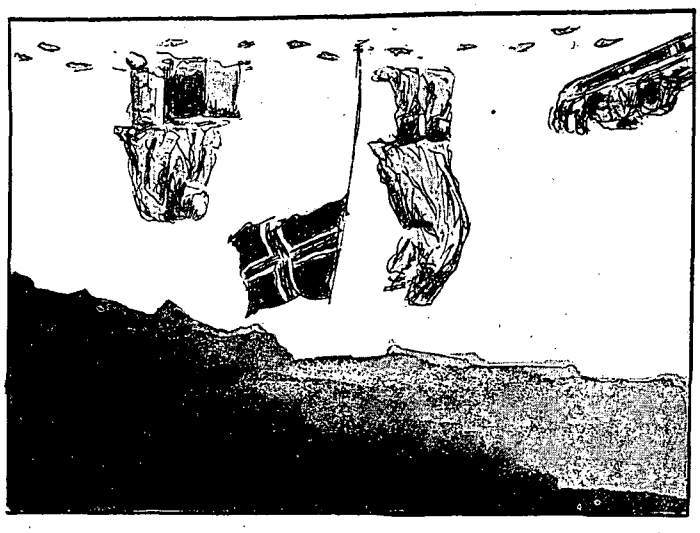
Was Mark Twain a thwarted talent forced to write second-rate stuff, concealing his true views of life and his own country, because of a psychic dissociation born of the pressure of family and friends to conform in gentility, religious views, and morals and manners? Did he simply give up and conform? or suffer an ordeal of spiritual torture ending in disillusioned pessimism? The anvil has advanced such a psychological interpretation to which Mr. DeVoto impolitely replies that they do not know Mark Twain, the man or author, they do not know the frontier and the folks that made him, and they do not know even what he wrote or they would have perceived that he did attack and ridicule the very things they declare he was silent about. To prove his claims Mr. DeVoto has written several rich chapters on Mark Twain's background, the giant river and the river-town, the rude West of miners and bravoes, the Negro and witch-lore, the noisy journalism and folk humor of the frontier. He loves the region and the man who gave it a voice, so he paints a vast panorama with great pains, sometimes blinded by his love to defects in his hero (who did measure success in money) and in the region (which did silence non-conformists although it surely was not Puritan). His criticism of the critics of Twain and his analysis of what he wrote and his social philosophy are stimulating but personal. Everywhere he challenges us with facts on the origins of frontier writing and facts out of Twain's books. It's a pretty quarrel!

And of course in the middle of the quest for proletarian literature, Mark Twain got his raw material right out of the people including Negroes, and his works have gone right back to the people as two generations have bought his books. Did he serve the masses? was he a proletarian creator? did they see themselves through him? He at least named the Gilded Age and that is social criticism. He also made millions laugh and DeVoto holds that a gift and no crime. Shall we say humor is just a way of escape from sufferings due to remediable evils and that if we give the masses a decent life they will not have to read humor and pulp magazines to escape? Certainly the masses have made the printing press and radio furnish them with escape romances. Will the proletarian writers "bore from within" in these popular vehicles, or where? It's a prickly question —how such literary men are to function.

DOUBTLESS a way will be found as it was found by that petty bourgeois son of a western jeweler, Frank Norris, who in spite of everything, including his own romanticism, made himself a realist and broke toward liberation. In Mr. Walker's competent but not profound biography, the struggle for a new literature is given a human symbol. We see the fractures of tradition cleave. Norris went to France to study art, and failed, but learned about Zola and Flaubert. He caught, from the air almost, the pollen of Darwinism and social determinism. He was in the Spanish-American War—that farce overture to American imperialism. Harvard



Woodcut by M. J. Gallagher for Mark Twain's America



Discovery of the South Pole—from Van Loon's Geography

helped him a little on form. Old Sam McClure smelled his talent and gave him a chance in New York. Howells, who is now being recognized as the bridge between two aspects of literature, encouraged him and welcomed his realism when the "quality" critics urged him to use his talents in serving "American idealism." And finally Norris read the ms. of Dreiser's Sister Carrie and helped get that pivot book published. Meanwhile the force that was in him, new seed, made him write McTeague and The Octopus and The Pit, the epic of the wheat. Then he died at thirty-two because he had lived too close to life.

Zola, Howells, Norris, Dreiser, all links, urged within to report life with brutal or pitying realism. Now Dreiser signs this appeal for communism. What does it mean? That 1932 is beyond realism?

LEON WHIPPLE

Vanlooniverse

VAN LOON'S GEOGRAPHY, *by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Simon and Schuster. 504 pp. Price, $3.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

I THINK parents—especially those who came up through the dark ages of the public schools—are going to get more fun out of Van Loon's new book than do their children. At least no progressive school child who begins to draw maps by platting the block he lives on, or by going up into the Empire State tower to see what Manhattan Island looks like, can possibly appreciate this book to the full. He has already discovered that geography means studying about the world he lives in, and that it is fun. But in the Hawthorne School, Fargo, North Dakota, twenty-five years ago, geography meant in the main lists of things to learn by heart. Not interesting things, either: states and capitals, principal products, chief tributaries of the Mississippi, the countries of South America, the Zones, and so on—and on and on.

Van Loon is more interested in people than in facts. He cannot write about the world and draw pictures of it as though it were a cold, dead moon. And so his book is not "pure" geography, but a fusion of geography, history, politics, sociology, economics, philosophy. He looks at mountains and rivers and sees not only the mountains and rivers, but how they have shaped and directed, stimulated and limited human thought and activity down the ages.

A scholar—even a layman—will quarrel with Van Loon's facts now and again, and with some of his wisecracking. Many readers will wish, as does this reviewer, that he had looked more often at the handiwork of other map-makers: when, for example, he drew the colored map of North America facing page 456, which looks as though he had grasped the continent at Nova Scotia and Vancouver and squeezed hard, and then put Florida through a pencil sharpener and chewed off most of Alaska with some very dull scissors.

But this, after all, is probably to quarrel with an author for being himself. It is, alas, all too clear that Van Loon's idiosyncracies of scholarship and workmanship are going to mean some very compli-

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cated evenings in the home, with Sister pointing out, "But my teacher said—" and Sonny arguing, "If the maps are wrong, how do you know the reading is right?" On the other hand, Van Loon makes latitude and longitude, the whys of climate and seasons, the wanderings of the Gulf Stream and the trade-winds clear and exciting to adults as well as to children. He makes remote places and people vivid and real. And, further, he writes a book through which he sets out to make two things true for his readers; first that, "We are all of us fellow-passengers on the same planet and we are all of us equally responsible for the happiness and well-being of the world in which we happen to live." Second, "When you come to think of it, is there really such a very great difference between the world at large and your own native village? If there is, it is one of quantity rather than quality. And that is all!" He has succeeded in doing what he set out to do. And for that he leaves all of us, children and grown-ups, greatly in his debt. BEULAH AMIDON

Breed of The Good Earth

SONS, *by Pearl Buck. John Day. 467 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

TO read Pearl Buck's new novel Sons is not only to experience real interest, but to study an enlightening picture of what is creating the China of today. Readers of The Good Earth will be glad that Sons carries on. The theme is the continuance of the family of old Wang Lung and the inheritance not simply of his property, but of his characteristics. In Wang, the eldest brother, the strongest urge is his desire for women; in Wang, the younger, that for wealth, whence his nickname "He Who Wins in Every Bargain." In Wang, the youngest, persists also the desire for accumulation—of power rather than property. It remains for a grandson —son of Wang the Soldier—cherished and trained to military leadership, to revert to a passion for earth itself—for the beauty of growing things and simple living.

Sons is an exposition of the system of War Lord-ism: that imposition of self-constituted force and power over civil rule which can exist only in a land like China. Here again, as in The Good Earth one is painfully aware of the suffering wrought by poverty, warfare, siege, famine and flood—periodical scourges considered in the light of Destiny, and dumbly endured as such.

A note often sounded is the indomitable will, self-control and ambition of Wang the youngest—"The Tiger"—the War Lord. Fierce, he is, passionate, ruthless, grim, but also just and even kind —a man self-educated to his chosen pursuit, despising the earth, except as it can furnish food for his soldiers; tolerating his brothers because of his occasional need of them; recognizing the necessity for sons as loyal aids in maintaining his power, and demanding a son, each, of his brothers to fill this need; finally marrying to obtain his greatest desire, a son of his own.

Another thread wound through the book is the memory of old Wang Lung, the father, and his love of the soil which is kept alive and beloved through the faithfulness of Pear Blossom, his little slave who lives on in his humble first house, loving his memory and caring for the poor witless fool, his daughter.

The drama moves rapidly and relentlessly from peak to peak. It reads like the Arabian Nights—simply and with strange oriental lack of emphasis. The atmosphere is convincing; the story arresting and the manner epic. WINIFRED M. CLARK

Westport, Connecticut

Man the Tortoise

MAN'S ROUGH ROAD, *by A. G. Keller. Frederick A. Stokes and Yale University Press. 450 pp. Price $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THESE lively chapters by one of Professor Sumner's successors at Yale offer the findings of The Science of Society (published in 1927 in four copious volumes) in a form better suited to the general reader. They discuss the problems centering around the four major experiences of the human race in adjusting itself to the realities of life: Maintenance, Religion, Propagation, Gratification. The main object is to tell how long and arduous is the

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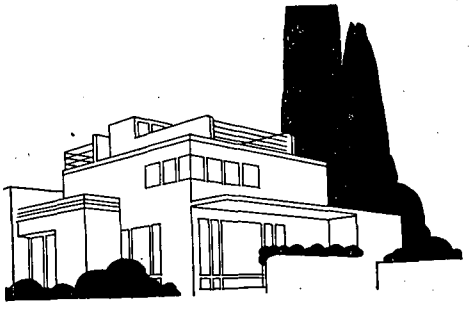

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road of progress, how it helps to examine the present in the light of the vast stretches preceding, and how this scientific approach to the chief problems of to-day will save us alike from discouragement at the slowness of advance and from acceptance of get-better-quick plans of social remaking.

The direct, often picturesque, language of the author should do much to acquaint the reader with the nature of folk-way and custom, and with leading types of these behaviors. The word "custom" is applied to those folk-ways which are the more deeply rooted because more essential to social welfare (the stoning of a thief or exalting monogamy, compared to removing one's hat before ladies). The powerful grip of custom is vividly put on page after page; and a hard-headed reminder is frequently sounded that no reform, whether with respect to property, or marriage, or religion, is likely to be of lasting value, if it fails to reckon with the might of these established ways. The secret of their enduring power is their consonance with the basic human impulses. When therefore the scientific student discovers how huge are the masses of men, and how inert, he does not groan. He accepts these facts as the data of his problem and plots his course accordingly. To do otherwise is to invite the fate of Kipling's fool "who tried to hustle the East."

To the reviewer, it does seem as if the object of the book would be better achieved if the author were a little more open to certain doubts. Is a book about human nature more scientific when it confines itself to the study of primitive conduct and ignores (or often sneers at) the beliefs and practices of the more highly developed? One gathers from these pages that Dr. Keller is quite untroubled about many matters which have given other minds much concern, and minds not necessarily "crack-brained," (p. 12) or given to "fleeting happy thoughts" (p. 281) or "priestly mumblings" (p. 332), and so forth. The author's language is often so like that of Mencken because his thinking reflects the same limitation: he takes for granted that the last word in explanation is spoken when a practise or institution is described in terms of its lower levels. For example, only five pages are given to the advantages of religion and all the rest of nine chapters to the illusions of primitives.

An able colleague of Dr. Keller's, the late Professor Charles A. Bennett, might have enlightened him on the fallacy of supposing that the insights of a mature intellect count for nothing alongside of the testimony offered by savages. To say that "the lowest terms are the essential terms" (p. 442) is less scientific than the author wishes to be. A contemporary student of biology, H. S. Jennings of Johns Hopkins, for instance, introduces his Prometheus with the sentence from Aristotle: "The nature of man is not what he is born *as*, but what he is born *for*." The real is not necessarily identical with the raw. It is a pity that Dr. Keller says the hard things he does about philosophers, seeing that whether consciously or not, he holds a philosophy of his own, not altogether beyond criticism. There is no indication in his book that ideas which he accepts, e.g., from Watson, Westermarck, Veblen, Nietzsche, have been challenged by persons at least as well informed as the editor of The American Mercury.

All this is merely to say that the benefit rendered by this book in warning against a certain facile optimism need not shut from the sight of the reader important considerations which the author has somehow slighted or ignored.

HENRY NEUMANN
Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture

Southern Peasantry

TO MAKE MY BREAD, *by Grace Lumpkin. Macaulay. 384 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THREE BROTHERS AND SEVEN DADDIES, *by Henry Harrison Kroll. Long and Smith. 296 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
INCHIN' ALONG, *by Melbourn Kelley. Morrow. 277 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MODERN southern novelists who have forsaken the magnolia tradition for a scrutiny of their social institutions remain in persuasive accord as to details. They agree that their rich section is afflicted with a peasantry which is more interesting than Colonel Carter of Cartersville and all of the ex-Confederates, and they are

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J. J. LANKES discloses in this manual for beginners in the oldest of graphic techniques why he is one of the outstanding woodcut artists in America—he respects and loves his medium and is still making fresh explorations into its possibilities. It is a how-to-do-it book that makes the reader eager to try this means of expression. Its chapters take up in a lucid and logical manner, with many diagrams, the various steps in making and printing a woodcut; the author takes no knowledge for granted except some ability to draw. It gives information on the practical problems of storing and selling woodcuts to those who wish to use woodcutting as more than a hobby but the book has a far wider audience than among artists in the young people and older ones who seek forms of self-expression, in those with no easy access to good instruction, or little money to spend on equipment. The writing is full of flavorsome digressions and shows that Mr. Lankes, who at Wells College has just entered upon a year of teaching art—his first experience—will be an entertaining as well as stimulating teacher. Many reproductions of the author's woodcuts contribute to the book's look of distinction.—F. L. K.

A WOODCUT MANUAL, *by J. J. Lankes. Henry Holt. 132 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

studying this peasantry with a Dickensian fervor which makes up in vigor what it may still lack in artistry.

For reasons yet inadequately explained, there are several million Southerners white and black now living in a handicraft age, buying nothing, contributing nothing to American life except crop surpluses and interesting mental and physical diseases. They remain a picturesque but horrifying dead weight upon the nation as well as on the South. Unnoticed until recently when the increasing depth of their poverty reduced many of them to startling savagery, they offer a contrast to the average American farmer that is one of the main differences between the South and the remainder of the country today. Intelligent Southerners pity them—and fear them—as much as anyone else, but only the novelists thus far have done anything about them.

Grace Lumpkin's novel, To Make My Bread, is typical of the current cycle of southern life studies. It is a sympathetic case report which is accurate enough to give comfort not only to the reformers, but to the industrialists who claim with some truth that the poor white, for all his sorrows in the mill towns, is better off than in his native hills and swamps. The author presents a mountain clan at home and in town, the chronicle moving remorselessly through the process which industry imposes upon its human raw material. We see a family living upon a scale as low as that of the farmers on the Yangtse-Kiang delta who are suddenly dispossessed of their land and fed into a textile mill wherein steam is more valuable than human blood. The mill town is better than some—no worse than the average. Miss Lumpkin treats it kindly in some particulars. But such industrialism as this is a cancerous abomination and she knows

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it and proves it. The conclusion which most readers will share is that the hill billies would have died happier had they been permitted to starve to death peacefully in the mountains. Miss Lumpkin writes well and honestly, and her book provides horrible but salutary instruction from beginning to end.

THE background of Henry Harrison Kroll's new book, Three Brothers and Seven Daddies, is almost identical with that of Miss Lumpkin's mountain scene, although the valley hedged in by the hills which provide his odd title gives its people a better living. The story, however, is more of an atmospheric phantasy than a novel, dealing with the shivery superstitions which infest the Southern ranges. The devil worship which these isolated families find controlling their lives contains the weirdest of melodrama and Mr. Kroll keeps his story moving at a rapid pace. Portions of it are handled as well as Hawthorne's New England legends. Other parts unfortunately show signs of too hasty writing, including the climax which is lamentably forced. The author provides some very effective decorations for his book, and it is beautifully printed.

INCHIN' ALONG introduces Melbourn Kelley, a new author who writes of a Negro farmer's trials and triumphs in Alabama with skill, good taste and the modern southern writer's determination to tell the whole truth. He contributes another southern character who has been badly misunderstood by generations of sentimentalists, the individual who probably is the key to the future of southern agriculture just as he has been the key to the past. Mr. Kelley's Negro shares with his benighted white competitors the ills of a defective system and in addition of course, he faces the terrifying troubles of his transplanted race. But unlike the darky of sentimental tradition this man is a hard-working, ambitious American who is too busy trying to make good ever to bother with his woes for long. Hundreds like him are contented on a living standard which helps ruin the weaker white men around him. Roy Flannagan
Richmond, Virginia

The Actual League of Nations

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS, *by Felix Morley. The Brookings Institution. 678 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IT would be difficult to exaggerate the excellence and usefulness of this description of the League of Nations; of how it came into being, of what it was in the beginning, is now and tends to become. But of more practical value is the fact that it goes beyond the historical and philosophical and devotes itself more to what the League *does* than to what it *is*. The trouble with most books on the League is that they have been of the nature of propaganda pro or contra; pictures in unrelieved black or white. Advocates and opponents of the League have mostly known nothing about the various shades of gray which characterize all human institutions. Mr. Morley knows how to use his grays.

He went to Geneva in the summer of 1928, as a Guggenheim fellow, matriculated as a research student at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, lived for nearly three years with his subject, and now produces the result, under the imprimatur of the Brookings Institution of Washington. That it is authoritative and reliable is sufficiently attested by the foreword of Sir Eric Drummond, secretary-general of the league, who without accepting any responsibility for the statements in the book, and noting that other students of the League may dissent from some of them, nevertheless characterizes Morley's book as "a valuable and permanent contribution."

More than any other book about the League this is to be read rather than merely shelved for reference, especially by Americans, who do not understand and never have understood their own responsibility for and relation to the League. Peculiarly its point of view is American. It is luminous in its setting forth of the essentials of the thing: that it is not merely an enginery for the prevention or stoppage of war, but one for the capitalization and operation of the good intents of the world regardless of wars and rumors of wars. The general public all over the world knows the League—or

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rather knows *of* it—only or chiefly in connection with political controversy actual or threatened; mostly ignorant of the immense nexus of activities in almost innumerable fields of international concern.

This book is good for those habitually demanding perfection in human institutions, who expected such an enormous and intricate organization to spring full-orbed into being, impeccable in motive and transaction, out of the ruin and helter-skelter of the war. It shows an organization unique on earth in process of finding itself by trial and error; constructing its real constitution as distinguished from its written one, so to say under fire; making itself day by day from and in the midst of experience with incessantly changing actuality. It shows too how futile have been and must be the attempts on the part of American politicians to remain aloof from the whole world's effort to devise a new modus vivendi for itself. As Morley says, "there is no nation sufficiently powerful or self-contained to resist indefinitely the movement of the great majority of states to organize international cooperation for their mutual benefit."

As time goes on, the relation of the United States to the League will become increasingly the subject of interest, eventually of direct political interest, in this country. This painstaking, friendly yet critical study will be and deserves to be a rewarding source of information for the American legislator, citizen and voter.

JOHN PALMER GAVIT

Nobody Knows

NOBODY STARVES, *by Catherine Brody. Longmans, Green. 281 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
FIRED, *by Karl A. Schenzinger. Translated by S. Guy Endore. Century. 271 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

Liberty is waste. The wheels must turn, the wheels
Must turn, the wheels must turn the wheels.
I do not need free men. I need wheels, wheels.
Free men feel, the wheels run slowly.
Free men think, and the wheels run wild.
Men must be wheels, great wheels, little wheels.
I have oil for them all. The wheels shall run smooth as water.
They shall all have oil. But I will have nothing but wheels.

EVEN when the wheels ran smoothly, this conception of industry failed singularly to convince a good many of us that here was a fitting goal for human adventure on our planet. When the wheels ran down, when the machinery stood idle, there was a noticeable lack of improvement in our situation, and rebellion in the air. Catherine Brody and Karl Schenzinger, among many others, have put rebellion into words in two realistic "proletarian novels" that are bad books for social workers to read but good books for social workers to put into the hands of their comfortably optimistic friends.

Nobody Starves takes Mollie and Bill, a nice young American boy and girl, through several factories with considerable detail. Their lives were drab enough and insecure enough before the wheels ran down. Afterwards, nobody starved. But the book ends with a successful murder and an averted suicide—averted, probably, to the electric chair or a life sentence.

FIRED is the story of an appealing young German couple whose romance has a less tragic but equally unsatisfactory end. Several steps higher in the educational scale than Mollie and her Bill, they were not quite so powerless in the currents which drew them together, swept them on into life as they found it, and dropped them flat when the wheels stopped spinning. They will try to do something about it—Margot with her clothing shop and Bruno in the National Socialist Party. We cannot close the book with any very profound conviction that either of them is on the right track. But it's less depressing reading than Nobody Starves and a less familiar background to an American audience.

There's a startling similarity in these two books. In both of them the mating instinct and creative urge are defeated by our industrial civilization. In both the characters are vivid and fresh. In both the rebellion of the author is keenly felt. And both, as I

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said in the beginning, are bad books for social workers to read because they say again what we have all said in our more despairing moments—what Margot says on the last page of Fired when her mother asks, "What is to become of us all?". "None of us knows that nowadays."

HELEN CODY BAKER
Chicago

But Life Breaks In

THE SHELTERED LIFE, *by Ellen Glasgow. Doubleday Doran. 395 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

LET no one be deceived by Miss Glasgow's title. It is the one bit of irony she permits herself in this sensitive, civilized tale of people for whom the romantic tradition afforded scant shelter against the desires, the frustrations and the realities of human relationships.

The story is set in a small Virginia city in the first decade of the century, where the faded Archbald and Birdsong families stand their ground, though the delicate flavor of their living is "brushed by a roving taint, a breath of decay from the new chemical factory near the river." It reveals itself through the eyes of little Jennie Blair Archbald who even at ten senses reality piercing the carefully preserved surface of the life around her, and of old General Archbald who at eighty-three searches deep into the hidden places of his life for the reality which still eludes him. It centers around the lovely glamorous Eva Birdsong who "as late as 1906 was regarded less as a woman than as a memorable occasion."

Life for Eva was rooted in the romantic ideal of her marriage and since she, like the women around her, "had with much patience acquired the capacity to believe anything or nothing," reality was never permitted to ruffle its shining surface. When that surface was shattered by little Jennie Blair, nourished on the romantic tradition and driven by the blind yearnings of seventeen, reality engulfed them all. " 'Oh Grandfather,' cried Jennie Blair, 'I didn't mean anything. I didn't mean anything in the world.' "

In her three characters Miss Glasgow realizes the past, present and future of human change: the old man probing the deep past for reality and escaping to the memory of "those blessed little things that bear thinking about;" the fading beauty struggling to preserve the fair façade of her perfumed romance; the young girl who in her innocence is a channel for the disintegrating forces of life and change. All shrink from reality, all grope blindly for something to live by.

The world of the Archbalds and Birdsongs has not vanished, for it is the ever-enduring world of the individual who clings to those things which make life endurable for him. Miss Glasgow has given her readers in the compass of three characters a poignant epitome of life itself, and, it should be added, a story of steadily mounting interest, rich in human emotion, told with the artistry of which she is master.

GERTRUDE SPRINGER

That Kind of World

MAN AND HIS WORLD, *edited by James H. S. Bossard. Harper. 755 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

SEVERAL universities and colleges have inaugurated required courses for first-year students in general science; Dartmouth was, I believe, the pioneer in this. A most desirable innovation; for surely nothing can be more important than that the student obtain first of all a survey of what is known about the world in which he lives. Man and His World is the result of seven years' experience in the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Bossard, the editor of the volume, was in charge of the course, and all but one of his nine collaborators were in some way connected.

The material included in this book, thoroughly tested out in the classroom, provides not only a textbook but also a compendium of information that will recommend itself to post-university and extra-university readers. The four sections, each for the most part the work of one or two experts, cover Law and Order in the Universe, The World of Life and Mind (including organic evolution, life and heredity, The Mind of Man, and The Cultural Heritage of

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Man), and then probably most interesting to readers of Survey Graphic—Man Mastering His World, and Man's Method of Mastering. This last section includes four chapters of importance to social workers: The Use and Abuse of Statistics and Some Statistical Concepts and Problems, by Clifford Kirkpatrick; The Case Method, By James H. S. Bossard and Walter E. MacDonald; and Research and Research Agencies, by Dr. Bossard.

There are forty-three useful illustrations and diagrams, and indexes. If this volume represents fairly what Wharton School freshmen are being taught, they are lucky to secure so admirable an introduction to science and the scientific method; and general readers who may be a bit rusty on scientific questions can do no better than to send themselves to school again by mastering these clearly written chapters.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY

Sausalito, California

There Is Confusion

BEYOND DESIRE, *by Sherwood Anderson. Liveright. 359 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

SHERWOOD ANDERSON has spent his life wondering what makes people behave the way they do. Although the scope of his work has spread out from the individuals of Winesburg, Ohio, to encompass groups of industrial workers; although he now tentatively seeks to appraise social forces as they industrialize the feudal South, it is still the individual on whom his interest centers, the individual, frustrated, insecure, caught by society, driven by forces without and confusions within—ultimately beaten by life and not knowing why. Sherwood Anderson doesn't know why either. But he wants to know.

Red Oliver, the adolescent hero of Beyond Desire, is apart from the social class, his by family heritage; apart from the mill-workers with whom he works and with whom he feels a genuine sympathy; apart from the woman with whom he falls in love and who makes him a victim of her own confusion; apart from the workers in whose strike he eventually gives his life. This boy, separate and unsure, stands against the world—a world as unsure as he. The young captain who kills him shoots from his own uncertainty. There is no coherence anywhere.

The books of Sherwood Anderson are his attempt to make concrete his wonderment. They are not an answer but a record of his seeking. His style, repetitious, uncertain; the lack of form (this book is divided into three sections which remain sections without synthesis) are all a part of his lack of sureness. But he has never been side-tracked. He never forgets that it is what happens to people within a system that makes the system important. He never forgets that it is the inner confusion that creates the systems that work the ultimate evil. His is the distinction of being one of the first to recognize the authentic stuff of a great American literature. Some day there will evolve a technique equal to the magnificent raw material that Sherwood Anderson is always calling to our attention.

HELEN MEARS

Legal Murder

THE TRIAL OF JEANNE D'ARC, *by W. P. Barrett. (Trans.) Gotham House. 544 pp. Price $4 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

ONCE or twice in a century there occure a trial which musters all the ponderous legal machinery in sight, and which wades through a vast amount of legal red tape in the most dignified and formal fashion, but whose net outcome is a revolting miscarriage of justice. The accused may be a scapegoat for political and military rottenness, like Dreyfus; or an unfortunate member of a hated and feared social unit, like Vanzetti; or a towering idealist, dangerous for his idealistic radicalism, like Jesus; or a military enemy of genius, like Jeanne D'Arc. In any such case, the decision of the court appears to be a foregone conclusion and the law is made the instrument of legal murder. Such trials make good reading, if only to keep alive some spark of conscience in the breast of the reader.

Here for the first time in English are the full and complete records of the trial of the Maid of Orleans, translated from the Latin and French. This is more (*Continued on page* 567)

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When Roosevelt Fails

(A LETTER TO SURVEY READERS)

The cardinal issue in the presidential campaign is whether the country shall continue to trust the leadership which only four years ago promised the abolition of poverty. Fortunately, it seems at present that that issue has been decided. Every vote against Hoover is a protest vote against the contrast between his promises and his performance. But the 1928 campaign was also decided by a protest vote — a protest against Al Smith's race and religion. That example ought to prove that a mere protest vote is not enough; when you vote against anybody you must vote for somebody. Millions of people who cast a protest vote against Smith are sorry now that that vote was cast for Hoover; and millions of people who are going to cast a protest vote against Hoover on November 8th may presently be sorry that that vote was cast for Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt means well and promises fine things, but Mr. Hoover meant just as well in 1928 and his promises were even more alluring. Moreover, he had a fairly cohesive party behind him; if he had promised something less ambitious than the abolition of poverty he would have had the machinery to make his promises good. So much can hardly be said for Mr. Roosevelt. The Democratic party, so called, is at best an unnatural alliance of discordant local parties — with the confusion made worse this year by the addition of disgruntled Republican Progressives. This ill-assorted team can be made to work only if a Simon Legree cracks the whip over it. Wilson did that and got results; if Smith had been elected he could have done it. But Roosevelt? He is an astute politician, but there is nothing in his record to show that he has the will or the capacity to use the iron hand when only the iron hand will serve.

And he will need the iron hand. His program falls far short of being the "new roof on our economic structure" that he calls it; but he is going to have to fight, even to do a repair job on the old roof. He promises control of stock speculation and capital issues; he talks (however vaguely) of the redistribution of wealth. The rich will not like that; and neither will the more numerous class that cannot bring itself to give up its purely theoretical hope of becoming rich by speculation. To force the Democratic party or assemblage of parties to enact that program will need a strength like Wilson's, and considerably more tact.

The Roosevelt administration will put liberalism to the test. *If* he can do what he promises, and *if* that is enough to cure the recurrent chills and fever of American business, the election of 1936 will not be much of an argument. But if he cannot do it, or if his reforms are not enough, what can the country do in 1936? People who are disgusted with the Republicans this year can turn to another major party, whose competence has not lately been tried. But if Roosevelt fails as Hoover has failed will the voters turn back to the party of Grundy and Mellon, of Hurley and Fess? Unless Roosevelt succeeds beyond expectation, the country will badly need the Socialist party in 1936.

Those of us who are going to vote for the Socialist ticket this year are accused of lack of realism; why vote for a man who cannot be elected? ***But Thomas can be elected if enough people vote for him; the more votes he gets, the more likely are the Democratic leaders to realize that the public is interested in other issues than the distribution of the offices, the better the chance that the next administration will accomplish some real reforms. A Socialist vote this fall means a better chance for reform to succeed, and a safer alternative if reform fails.***

For the development of the small Socialist party of the past into a major organization is a big job — as big a job as the transformation of the old regular army into the A. E. F. That job must be started now. However one may appreciate the tenacity, and the public services, of the Socialist nucleus which kept the party alive through the lean years, their organization must be enormously expanded before it is competent to take over the government of a country which may have to turn to it when Democrats and Republicans are alike discredited. Every vote for Thomas this fall helps to build up the Socialist organization into a major party — the only party which will offer any hope to the country when Roosevelt fails.

(Signed) **ELMER DAVIS**

Send funds to **Thomas and Maurer Committee**

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(*Continued from page* 565) than history; it is the starkest of drama. A maid against the political power of a nation! Of course she was burned. And canonized. And both results appear inevitable as one reads the records. CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN
Colorado Springs, Colorado

ARE RADIO FANS INFLUENCED?

(*Continued from page* 547)

titude more general than the specific proposition. Working upon this assumption, we segregated groups of from 8 to 24 statements which seemed to represent general attitudes. These attitudes together with illustrative statements are listed below:

Pro-status-quo: statements that argue favorably for the present situation, that things are not as bad as they seem, that we should be optimistic.

Probably no American unemployed will starve to death this year.

Fluctuations in prosperity have a value in producing self-denial and thrift.

Every great depression has ended and this one will end.

Simple protest: but without criticism of present institutions.

The specter of starvation now faces millions who were never out of work before.

In spite of all the talk of increasing public works last winter, the number of additional men who received employment was ridiculously small.

Criticism of our institutions, of the system, or of responsible classes: but without recommendation of governmental action.

One primary cause of the depression was that the lure of the stock market directed capital into speculation rather than into constructive enterprise.

The ruling classes of the world today have failed as completely in political leadership as in economic.

City officials have used unemployment relief funds to gain political advantage.

Pro-governmental-action, especially by the federal government.

Job-finding is a proper and necessary function of government.

Planning must include all industries and will necessarily become an agency of the federal government.

Anti-governmental-action, especially federal action: including objection to governmental unemployment insurance.

If the government protects people from the consequences of economic misfortune, they will come to worship the government instead of God.

Locally administered unemployment relief has the obvious advantage of minimum waste and extravagance.

Were the United States government to assume the entire burden of present unemployment, the American public would be deprived of its most substantial outlet for the altruistic motive.

Pro-international, complimentary to other countries directly or by implication, unfavorable to the United States.

America is the only important industrial country which relies solely upon the dole for unemployment relief.

Before the World War, the United States had the highest percentage of unemployment of any industrial country.

IN addition every statement was rated as individualistic, socialistic, or neutral, the decision being made by a majority of four judges selected because they had been closely attentive to the public discussion of unemployment.

The most consistently accepted class of statements was that which represented a protest against the present situation, but without any specific location of blame. If +100 is the acceptance of all such statements, 0 the acceptance of half and rejection of half, and −100 the rejection of all, then the average score for this class of statements is, for the *exposed* group, +64 and for the *control* group +57. At the end of the month both groups were even more consistently in favor of these statements, the *exposed* group moving up to +71 and the *control* group to +68.

The only class which showed (*Continued on page* 569)

The Saseks are going up in the world

THEY CAME from a hovel. Now they live in a flat. Someday soon, they hope to buy a house and a radio and maybe a car. Yes, the Saseks are climbing—but life right now is no picnic for the ambitious, tireless one who cooks and washes and cleans—to help her family get there.

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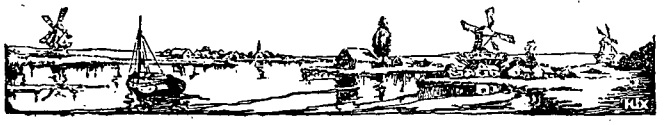

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Geneva Institute

WE quote from a recent bulletin from Sydney Strong: "Geneva reaches the peak in popular summer education in The Institute of International Relations. This is the ninth year. It ran from the 14th to the 19th of August. It is not under the direction of the League, but is in close sympathy, since the committee works in co-operation with the League of Nations organizations in Britain and America. This makes it rather orthodox in spirit and direction.

"On Sunday afternoon, there was a garden party at the home of Mme. d'Arcis, an hour's boat ride up the lake. Over two hundred walked over the lawn. Then all week following, forenoon, afternoon, evening, there were sessions—with lectures and questions—on The World Crisis. The tuition is $8 for the course. . . . Those in attendance were chiefly students, with two thirds of them women. Britain and America contributed a good share of the students and speakers."

Peace Prize Contest

EARLY in 1932 the New History Society held an essay contest among American college students on world peace; and now, through the International Universities of the League of Nations Federation, is offering three prizes of $300, $200 and $100 to European students for the best papers on How Can the Youth of the Universities and Schools Contribute to the Realization of a United States of the World? Some of the judges are M. Emile Borel, Viscount Cecil, Albert Einstein, Prof. Gilbert Murray, Colonel Picot, Prof. Ludwig Quidde and Prof. W. E. Rappart. Announcement of the winners will be made in Paris next June, and their manuscripts will appear in New History, monthly publication of the New History Society, 132 East 65 Street, New York.

Recreation in Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE is full of cultural and educational opportunities, and the government does all it can to encourage this by such things as exempting from taxation movies which have a cultural value. Also theaters, concerts and lectures receive government support. And everything is done to make these opportunities available to the poorer classes. For example, in the case of tickets: on those costing 1 kopek there is a tax of only 10 per cent, while on those costing 5 kc it is raised to 20 per cent, and those of 20 kc have a tax of 50 per cent. This is the underlying theory of all government taxation, relieving the poor of as much of the burden as possible and placing it on those financially able. . . .

Sport plays an important role in the lives of these people. It is directed by organized sporting clubs. Skiing figures prominently in the winter, and everyone who can possibly do so goes to the mountains for a few days. Swimming, hockey, horseback-riding are all popular. But most popular of all is hiking. In the spring and fall crowds of people ride out of town and spend the day hiking, often covering long distances so accustomed are they to walking. Bicycling is another favorite sport. A friend and I plan to bicycle throughout Czechoslovakia and the adjoining Slav countries, as we are both anxious to really know the people intimately and feel that is one of the best ways of doing it.

I cannot close without a word about this most important of Czech institutions, the *kavarna*. It is one of their most frequented places. Here friends meet to spend their evenings; young men have dates with their lady friends; persons come in groups or alone to study, read newspapers or write, to listen to music. Business men to discuss business and politics; and young women come with their chaperons to dance. (Some *kavarnas* are quiet while others have music and dancing space.) In fact, everyone goes to the *kavarna* more or less for everything.

Most social evenings here end with a dance. Czech people love to dance—with them it's one of the arts. They dance at their soirées, their teas; at their wineshops and *kavarnas*. And ladies usually wear semi-formal or more often simple formal gowns. Formals are worn very much more than at home. And ladies pay all their own expenses. Lower student rates are usual for men only, and women students pay full rates.—(*From Georgianne A. Horock's preliminary report on leisure-time practices of the Czech people to the Institute of International Education.*)

Speakers

IN the summer, the heart had its play; and now in the fall and winter, the mind will have its say. Lectures and forums will be enlivened by people from far places, with diverse knowledge and points of view. The Institute of International Education list is striking: Dr. Julius Curtius, former German minister for foreign affairs; Dr. Fritz Rager, secretary of the Austrian Chamber of Labor; Victor Andres Belaunde of Peru, former professor of government and international relations at the University of San Marcos; Alfred W. Flux of the British Board of Trade; Clough Williams-Ellis, president of the Design and Industry Association of England.

This season the Speakers Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association will arrange engagements only for members of their staff. And well they may. James G. McDonald is back from Italy, France, Germany and Switzerland; Maxwell Stewart was in Russia; and Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean in Austria.

Alden G. Alley of the League of Nations Association faces a pretty full program on his return from Europe. Last year he traversed thirty-one states, making some four hundred addresses between October and July.

Of course William B. Feakins is sponsoring many important visitors, among them Sir Norman Angell, Prof. Julian Huxley, Jennie Lee, the stimulating young ex-M.P., just back from an extensive tour of Russia; Sir Frederick Whyte, Baroness Ishimoto, leader of the feminist movement in Japan, who is coming to America for the first time; and B. R. Ambedkar, representative of the depressed classes of India.

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(*Continued from page* 567) an actual preponderance of unfavorable judgments was the one which advised optimism, which said, in one way or another, that everything would come out all right and that the experience was wholesome after all. But the scores, though on the minus side of zero, were just barely so. At the end of the month the movement was toward a slightly more consistent rejection. The least consistent approval was of the statements against governmental action and this approval did not increase with added exposure to arguments along that line.

Out of the six classes of ideas accepted with definite consistency by the *exposed* group before the radio series, all showed an increase in consistency after the series, again indicating that the average person grows surer, providing he was, in the beginning, inclined to believe such statements. There was a similar tendency, though not quite so marked, on the part of the *control* group.

Where the individuals were reasonably sure that a given general attitude, such as protest against the present state of affairs was true or justified, they were likely to improve the consistency of that attitude as a result of experience. But there was no instance where a positive attitude was reversed, or a very uncertain one made highly certain. This phase of our study agrees with the earlier findings that those ideas are most readily spread which are already well established in the group.

But there is also a new finding which emerges at this point. Logically, certain of our classes of statements would seem to be in opposition. This is true of the *pro-status-quo* and the *protest without criticism of present institutions*. One represents an optimistic and the other a pessimistic view of the unemployment situation. If one class is consistently accepted the other might be expected to meet consistent rejection. Yet such is not the case. Though of all classes the statements of protest were most consistently accepted, the contrary class was but barely rejected. Again, governmental action showed a highly consistent acceptance by the exposed group but the disapproval of governmental action was also accepted, though much less consistently. Additional political experience improved the consistency of the pro-governmental-action judgments, while approval of the logically opposite class was left unchanged. The same result was obtained from the *exposed* group in the case of the individualistic class and the socialistic class. Both were accepted to begin with, but the socialistic ideas were accepted with considerably more consistency, and the exposure to additional political experience tended to increase the more favored of these logically opposed ideas and to do little to the less favored.

ONE might ask how honest people could accept logically opposed sets of ideas. The answer is, I think, that most of us are doing that all the time. During the World War, preachers from their pulpits told us in one breath to follow the ways of Christ and in the other to crush the Germans. A recently inspired orator told the voters what a great economizer President Hoover is and how much money he has given to save the farmers. The point is that we are a little inclined to accept any positive and not plainly ridiculous statement. William James once referred to Wilhelm Wundt as a perfect professor, because he had an opinion on every subject and, having an excellent memory, he seldom forgot what his opinions were. But most of us have no such memories. We find it possible to applaud both the rugged virtue of individual thrift and the idealism of the Economic Plan. On election night in November 1928 the same crowd in Times Square cheered lustily and impartially for Herbert Hoover and for Alfred E. Smith. Yet it may be that we are not mere intellectual weaklings in our apparent inconsistency; the assumption that individualistic and socialistic ideas are in the long run logically opposed is after all only another man-made judgment.

Our present experimental results offer a further suggestion. From two apparently opposed sets of ideas we may make a choice without, ourselves, admitting it. The ideas we favor may be handled more consistently and that consistency may show ready increase in the course of experience, while the other set may remain indefinitely in a condition of lackadaisical acceptance. I am not claiming that the whole-hearted rejection of a set of ideas may not occasionally occur, but its failure to occur (*Continued on page* 570)

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(*Continued from page* 569) does not mean that a whole-hearted acceptance of contrary ideas is impossible. It would simply seem, to judge from the public involved in this experiment, that minds work much more readily in the positive than in the negative direction.

CEMENT RAILROADS

(*Continued from page* 542)

another name for what elsewhere I have called the "insulated highway" or the "townless highway." (Insulate the highway from the town, and the town from the highway—divorce transport and residence.) But the word *highway* has worn grooves in our minds that cannot seem to be effaced while this spelling is retained. Many people clearly see the need of divorcing residence from transport but cannot seem to see it on anything whose name is "highway." It is all right, they say, upon a "railway." Very well then, call it *railway*—one of cement instead of steel.

The cement railway (to be a real railway) must be insulated from the towns. But the abandoned rail line in many cases penetrates the town. If then such line is used as the base for our new thoroughfare how shall the latter be properly divorced from local traffic and residence? One way is to relocate the line and make a bypass around the town. The other way is to retain (by bridges, underpasses or guarded crossings) the original separate (insulated) condition of the former railroad thoroughfare.

Are all steel railroads, then, to be in time converted to cement? By no means. The transcontinental train, whether of Pullmans or of box cars, has, in my own opinion, come to stay. Two land routes should be always open to the long-distance traveller—one of steel, one of cement. It is the local train, on branch line or minor division, that is rapidly disappearing. So the abandoned railway line has joined the cohorts of our great American problems.

And what about it? Must the abandoned line become wholly a liability—something merely to be junked? Or may it be an asset in our evolution? Is it indeed doomed to archaelogy—to be classed among the Indian Mounds? Or may it be the base for a new way of transport and of life?

Look at the map on page 542. Here are some outcroppings in New England. Here are possible intimations of three main routes from the locality of Boston—west, north, southwest. Westward is the old Central Massachusetts Rairoad—lately abandoned for passenger service from Oakdale to Northampton; northward the one-time Nashua, Acton & Boston, now with rails and ties departed; southwest (spanning a gap from Boston toward New York) a hundred miles of abandoned New York, New Haven and Hartford.

Suppose we should remodel one of these old railroads—convert it from iron to cement. Of course its roadway would need widening (perhaps parallel roadways needed); of course some new bridges must be built; of course the cut-off and the bypass here and there; and such of course must all cost money. Yes, yes of course. But never mind these yet. First squint your eyes across this map and get the picture.

Here in this middle ground, like old metal on the dump-heap of a passing industry, lie these firm foundations of a possibility. Once made and tested and found not wanting their extensions would follow as incidents of history. We need not plot their courses; we but suggest their general directions—toward hub and away—with a few straight arrows on the map of New England. Build one line—from Coventry to Waterbury—as the middle stretch from Boston to New York: its flagrant contrast with the makeshift things at either end would save ten weary years of talk. It matters little if it be done by private enterprise or public. The point is that it would be something *not* a "highway" (as we use the word today), something *not* to scavenge on (with bungalow and road-stand), something *not* accessible (except to its essential use of transport).

The point is that it would be, first, last, and all the time—a *railway*.

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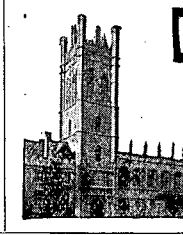

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State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arthur Kellogg, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the SURVEY GRAPHIC and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication, for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor, Paul U. Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, Arthur Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, none.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 St., New York, N. Y., a non-commercial corporation under the laws of the State of New York with over 1,900 members. It has no stocks or bonds. President, Lucius R. Eastman, 110 Washington Street, New York, N. Y.; Vice-presidents, Julian W. Mack, 1224 Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.; Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; John Palmer Gavit, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Secretary, Ann Reed Brenner, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Treasurer, Arthur Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

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[Signed] ARTHUR KELLOGG, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22d day of September, 1932.
[Seal] MARTHA HOHMANN,
Commissioner of Deeds, City of New York, New York County Clerk's No. 118, New York County Register's No. 35-H-4.
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OF WAR DEBTS AND OTHER MENACES

(*Continued from page 556*)

The point commonly overlooked in discussions of this tangled subject is that these debts ensued, as the authors put it, "not from productive economic developments but from the destructive processes of the war." Even allowing for the fact that some of the loans were for post-war purposes, they were made and in large part used, for ends coherently related to the catastrophe, unproductive economically, in small degree self-extinguishing. It seems to me that the open-minded reader, whatever his previous belief, or political prepossessions, will find it impossible to escape the conclusion that attempts by the United States or any other of the creditor nations to collect these debts in the past have served and in the future will serve:

> . . . only to impede the restoration of international economic equilibrium and world prosperity. While the obliteration of the war debts would not solve all the manifold difficulties under which the world is laboring, economic analysis leads unmistakably to the conclusion that the restoration and maintenance of world prosperity will be rendered much easier if the disorganizing effects of the war-debt payments are eliminated once and for all.

It is made unmistakably clear, however, that it is not only the war-debts that bedevil the situation; also that the United States has not been unwarranted in its contention that the debts owing to it have no *legal* connection with the collection by its debtors of their claims against Germany or against each other. Nevertheless it is maintained that

> . . . while there is no legal connection between the two sets of obligations, either inherently or as a result of accepted agreement, there is between them so important an economic relationship that the legal aspects of the problem have very little realistic significance. . . .

In practice, moreover, the tendency of our own executive policy has been inevitably "toward an articulation of debt payments with reparation receipts"; and since Lausanne the virtual removal of reparations from the picture "renders inevitable a reconsideration of the existing war-debt agreements." But it goes further, and makes self-evident that there must be radical modifications in our trade policies.

> The argument that our export trade is unimportant and has no real bearing upon our prosperity sounds plausible, but is fundamentally erroneous. The assumption that domestic trade could be expanded simultaneously with the curtailment of foreign trade is without foundation. On the contrary, a decline in foreign trade inevitably carries with it also a decline in domestic trade. . . . There never was a more complete economic fallacy than the one now prevalent—that this country can turn its back on Europe and prosper by so doing.

I regret that space limitations preclude a more complete description of this incomparable study; I can only commend it without reservation to those who would have an intelligent understanding of this, the most important as it is (with special reference to our political conditions) the most difficult of the problems with which the next administration at Washington will have to contend.

WITH several other books, hardly less valuable as contributions to general background in these perplexing times, I should have liked to deal in more than a cursory manner. I can only mention such for instance as Sir Arthur Salter's admirable, Recovery: The Second Effort (Century, $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic), which from the point of view of thirteen-years-after surveys the fields of economics, finance, political security, thrown into confusion by the war, and like the Brookings study emphasizes the complete revolution ensuing therefrom in the nature and necessities of international relationships. Sir Arthur ranks very high among international economists. From its beginning until a short time ago he has been head of the economic and finance section of the League of Nations; was secretary of the British Department of the Supreme Economic Council in 1919, and served as general secretary of the Reparations Commission in 1920–22.

Here also is The United States in World Affairs, by Walter Lippmann in collaboration with William O. Scroggs, director of information of the Council of Foreign Relations; a panoramic survey, more particularly of the year 1931 in international developments; published for the Council by Harper & Bros. ($3 postpaid of Survey Graphic). This book is especially suitable for the lay reader.

More than passing praise ought to go to Allen H. Eaton of the Sage Foundation staff for his Immigrant Gifts to American Life (Russell Sage Foundation, $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic). In these days of no immigration whatever and of stupidity, both official and general, in the treatment of our alien population and visitors, it is uncommonly pleasant to see, and in so beautiful an example of book-making, an exhibit of what we owe to our foreign-born people. As Mr. Eaton says, "if in the necessity to limit our immigration we have lost one of our oldest and most precious traditions, perhaps we can find a substitute for our loss by consciously setting about to discover and conserve the best qualities which our immigrants have brought and are bringing from their homelands." A considerable part of the book is devoted, with charming illustrations, some of them magnificently colored, to describing the exhibitions of old-world arts and crafts held in various American cities; with helpful information about how to organize and conduct such exhibitions.

PERHAPS the greatest test in its history of the political courage, strength and effectiveness of the League of Nations faces it now in the report of the Lytton Commission upon the Sino-Japanese problem in Manchuria. That Commission, consisting of the Earl of Lytton, formerly viceroy of India, Gen. Henri Edouard Claudel, inspector-general of colonies and member of the Superior War Council of France, Count Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti of Italy, Dr. Heinrich Schnee, formerly governor-general of the German colonies, and Major-General Frank McCoy of the United States Department of State (appointed by the League of Nations as an individual) undeniably has taken the rampant Japanese bull by the horns, at the same time mincing no words about the irresponsibility and bad faith of China.

The report is in the best tradition of the League; candid, fair and constructive. Its fulfilment in good faith undoubtedly would go far to compose one of the ugliest and most threatening situations in the world. Japan, however, by the mouth of its dominating militarists and politicians, is (at this writing) truculently uncompromising. By her lawless creation and defiant recognition of the pseudo-independent state of Manchukuo, she has put herself in a position from which it will be exceedingly difficult and humiliating to recede. Yet—assuming fearlessly vigorous procedure by the League—she will have to do so soon or late; or outlaw herself from the family of the nations. In this business the United States already has aligned itself irrevocably with or even beyond the position represented by the Lytton report. The situation is immensely complex and difficult; its solution requires the best resources of international wisdom and at the last will show how far civilization is able to control its unruly membership. Incidentally it threatens the complete ruin of Japan.

WHATEVER may be the outcome in detail of Mahatma Gandhi's dramatic, not to say fantastic method of effectuating his convictions by threatening—and beginning—suicide by starvation, he has dealt a death-blow to the detestable institution of the "Untouchables" in India, portending the liberation from that ancient scandal against humanity of some sixty million persons—equivalent to half the population of the United States—doomed in the act and fact of birth to existence and social esteem on a par with that of loathsome animals, cursed in ancestry and posterity forever. The British government is entitled to great credit for having cut this knot so promptly upon the appearance of agreement between Gandhi and the representatives of the Untouchables and the higher-caste Hindus. The act will be long in bearing full fruit, but Gandhi has seen the blossoming, and he has demonstrated gorgeously the power of one man's determination, without the use of any violence (except to and in his own person) to overthrow a great evil among men.

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